TRAVELS

IN

THE HIMALAYAN PROVINCES OF

HINDUSTAN & THE PUNJAB

IN

LADAKH & KASHMIR

IN

PESHAWAR, KABUL,

KUNDUZ & BOKHARA

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LADAKH AND KASHMIR

IN PESHAWAR, KABUL, KUNDUZ

AND

BOKHARA

BY

MR. WILLIAM MOORCROFT AND MR. GEORGE TREBECK

FROM 1819 TO 1825

Prepared for the Press, from Original Journals and Correspondence

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VOLUME II

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TRAVELS

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THE PANJAB, LADAKH, KASHMIR,

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PART II.—RESIDENCE IN LADAKH

CHAPTER VIII

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At the same time that my young friend was dispatched to Piti I undertook an excursion to Dras, and left Lé for that purpose on the

10th of June. The sowing of wheat had been finished at the end of May, and the most forward plants were now five inches high. Pease and beans were also above the ground. Lucerne was only just bushing where the soil was dry, but where it was well watered it was full and high. In Ladakh this grass is almost an aquatic; though in India it perishes if long under water in the rainy season. It is also worthy of remark, that in this country pure gravel, without mould or clay, will rear lucerne if it be plentifully watered. The plants now in flower were varieties of the iris, dog-rose, butter-cup, shepherd's-purse, and clematis. The ordinary birds of the country were flying about, except the geese and ducks, which had deserted the river and had gone to breed in the mountains. Flies were not numerous, but there were musquitoes on the low grounds. Our camp was pitched in a willow-garden, near the Phiang rivulet, where I remained next day, to acknowledge letters I had received in the night from Hindustan by way of Kashmir.

Part of the road from Nimo to Bagzo lies through the cultivated fields of the former,

now under barley and wheat, of which the former was in ear, and part over a sandy barren, bounded on the left by the river, and on the right by low alluvial mountains, formed from the ruins of the nearest primary range. The lands of Bagzo lie in a slope, beginning narrow from the north-west, and widening to the east, and consist of a reddish clay. The crops were good, but neither so rich nor forward as at Nimo. The town was perched upon the face of a rock, and was formerly defended by works to the east and west, which were now in ruins. This is the case with all similar structures in Ladakh, and argues either a feeling of security or the poverty of the state.

The road beyond Bagzo leads along a narrow water-way, flanked by pebble and clay walls, and ascends to a line of the structures called Mani-panis: it then divides; the right path going by Ling to Himis, and the left by Saspula; the former, though the more circuitous, is that taken with loaded cattle, as the latter, leading over the pass of Lagang Kuje, in the hills which from Nimo intervene between the road and the river, is more difficult. Saspula, on the right bank of the

river, is celebrated for its apricots. Amongst its orchards I noticed several of the trees with rams' horns let into the bark, and so covered by it as to be at first undistinguishable. They were in general inserted in the angle formed between a branch and the stem. Upon inquiring the meaning of this addition, it was stated that the horns were thus engrafted as a propitiatory offering at the time of an eclipse, and that trees so honoured bore ever afterwards an unfailing crop of the choicest fruit. At Saspula the Lompa had a house: his wife, who was a daughter of the Giah Raja, and apparently twice as old as her husband, sent me some flour, dried apricots, and apples, and turnip-tops as greens, with her regret that her husband was not at home to show me suitable attention. At this place I observed some women engaged in pounding lime. The mortar was a hole cut in a block of stone, and the pestle a heavy oblong stone rounded at the end. This apparatus is usually public property; one sometimes serves for a village, but, in general, one is found at each extremity of it. When the lime was pounded it was burnt and mixed with water, to form a white-wash

for the exterior of the houses. These public mortars are applied to various uses, as to the bruising of rape and mustard-seed, which are then kneaded and squeezed with warm water for the extraction of their oil. Apricot kernels are treated in the same way, and the fragrant oil expressed from them is used by the women for their hair. The mortar is also employed for bruising the wild madder-root, which, mixed with aluminous earth and pyrites, forms a brown dye for the woollen dresses of the men, and the trousers of women. The most frequent employment of the mortar, however, is the reduction of dried goats' dung to a fine powder, which thickly laid upon a sheep-skin with the wool outwards, forms the only bedding provided for infants until they are more than a twelvemonth old. The advantage of the powder is, that any part of it which is incidentally moistened can be readily removed and replaced.

From Saspula we proceeded along the skirts of the clay-hills on our right, and ascended to a single house, surrounded by cultivation, where the two roads from Bagzo to Himis reunite. From thence we continued our route over un-

dulating ground, the main line of hills which ran east and west being frequently interrupted by small glens and valleys, crossing it from north to south, and giving passage to rivulets flowing towards the Sinh-kha-bab. After crossing one of these by a sanga, we came to the village of Himis, consisting of a number of houses scattered irregularly over the sides of a green hill, and down a valley leading to the main river. The lofty mountains on the opposite side of the river were discernible from the high ground, and were tipped with snow.

When I was setting off from Himis, on the 15th of June, the physician of the lower village arrived in breathless haste, bringing me a present of some wheaten cakes, and a copper tea-pot, beautifully ornamented with fret-work of brass. It was of the manufacture of Chi Ling, opposite to Saspula, and had cost ten rupees. On expressing my regret at his having taken such unnecessary trouble, he replied that it was the duty of the hakim (the doctor) of any place visited by the sirdar or chief of hakims, to show their respect, and he was only sorry that he was so late.

He had been present, it appeared, at an operation I had successfuly performed on the eyes of Tsangre Sundar, of Chuchut. I of course acknowledged his civility, and made him a present of a gum lancet in return; an instrument not essentially differing in form, but infinitely superior in finish and sharpness, to the stakpo, or lancet used in Ladakh for venesection.

The road from Himis to Sneurla, after continuing some way on high ground, crosses what may be considered a pass; and then, for the most part, descends towards the village. On the way it approaches close to the right bank of the Indus, and meets a lower road, used by foot passengers, along the river, from Saspula. Sneurla, or, as the Kashmirians call it, Nur-ullah, is near the river, and is lower and warmer than the country we have yet passed. Trees were in consequence more numerous, and, in addition to the usual fruit-trees, willows and poplars abounded, and the fragrant sirsing was plentiful. I observed also, besides the single rose, the double rose, or maiden's blush, and the blue sweet-scented columbine, called by a native name signify-

ing asses' sugar (bombo khaira); why, I could not learn. Here I first noticed the appearance of any unhealthiness amongst the apple-trees, which may arise from the thinness of the soil.

From Sneurla the road passed along the right bank of the Sinh-kha-bab, which was about thirty yards broad, and rolled along with great rapidity and high broken waves. High-peaked mountains approached close to the left bank, but left a narrow slip of land, along which huts, orchards, and cultivated fields were occasionally visible. The hills on the right bank also approached, at times, near to the river; but they were neither precipitous nor lofty, and consisted of schistus and red clay. After crossing a deep water-course we came to the village of Khalets, or Khaletse, one of the largest in Ladakh. It has more orchard-trees than Sneurla, and amongst them the walnut, which produces very fine fruit. The river flows near it, but considerably below its level: at first sight, the situation appears unfavourable, presenting to southward a line of towering rocks, and encircled, nearly from east to west, by a ridge of brown and barren

hills. The cultivated ground is, however, of good quality, though rather incommodiously laid out in terraces. The grain sown here ripens in three months, and a second crop of buck-wheat or of turnips is obtained from the same soil.

A kind of sherbet is common here, made by mixing water with dried apples or apricots pounded. A number of chumas, or Buddhist nuns, were met with, who were very curious about my objects, my dress, habits, &c., apologising at the same time, with unaffected civility, for being so inquisitive. When we started early in the morning of the 17th, the women of the village were abroad, some watering the corn-fields, some collecting grass for their flocks, and some preparing the web for their woollen cloth. The cattle of the village had escaped the epidemic better than most, and formed a flock of eight hundred sheep and goats, chiefly the latter.

Immediately beyond Khalets we came to a wall and door-way leading to a sanga across the river. The bridge was substantially constructed, resting on two scarped rocks, and was about thirty yards long. The river was not

more than twenty yards broad, and was rolling black and impetuously about twelve feet below it*. On the left bank the path led under an arched passage through a tall Mani-pani.

After following the left bank of the Sinh-kha-bab for a short distance, we took our final leave of it, as it turned off towards the north. Its course could be discerned for some way to west, half north, and then again more northerly still, between low gravelly hills, along the summit of which, on its right bank, was a good road, going, it was said, to Balti. At the point where we quitted it it was joined by the Yunga-chu, a considerable rivulet coming from the west, and repeatedly intersecting the road. It was crossed by rough sangas. As we ascended the road was contracted by the advancing rocks on either hand, to a narrow defile, scarcely leaving a path sometimes

* It is worthy of notice, that when Mr. Trebeck crossed the same bridge on the following November, he observed it was "forty-five or fifty feet above the water." Admitting that neither statement may be quite correct, the error cannot exceed a few feet, and the two accounts afford satisfactory evidence of the great rise of the river in the summer months, occasioned by the melting of the snow on the adjacent mountains.—Ed.

along the edge of the stream. On quitting the course of the main rivulet, the path continued along much the same sort of dell, until we approached the monastery and village of Lama Yuru, where it widened into a valley about two hundred paces broad.

Lama Yuru is the site of a very large establishment of Gelums and Chumas, amounting, according to some accounts, to five hundred. They do not all reside together, but are dispersed amongst the people, as in every house there is a chamber appropriated to the Deity, and to a Gelum, whose business it is to place food and lights before the image, repeating prayers and beating a drum. They are all subject to one chief, who is a native of Lassa, and whose authority extends over the whole country west of Lé. He divides his time between Phiang and this place, living a year at each alternately. There were three temples at Lama Yuru; the principal one was situated on the top of a low hill, on the sides and along the base of which were the houses of the village, about a hundred in number. These were built, as usual, of brick and wood, and were painted red and white, denoting their

dependence upon the monastery. The situation was elevated and cold, and fruit-trees were rare; cultivation was late, and there was rather a deficiency of water for irrigation.

One of my horses having slipped into the rivulet on our march, and, although extricated, much bruised and cut by his fall, I deemed it advisable to halt a day (June 18) at this place, and availed myself of the opportunity to witness the religious service of the Lamas. They were summoned to prayers about eight o'clock by the beat of a drum. Each, as he entered the temple, raised his joined hands above his head, then opened, and again closed them before his breast. Next he placed them on the ground, so as to rest upon them whilst touching the floor with his forehead, in prostration before the images of Sakya Muni and his sanctified disciples and successors. The Lamas then sat down in rows from east to west, from the door to the shrine, upon cushions of felt, or low wooden benches. One of them had a sort of reading-desk before him, with the leaves of a book, from which he read, and was followed by the rest in the recita-

tion. They then began a performance of instrumental music, almost each man being provided with some instrument. The majority had small flat drums, but I noticed also two horns or cornets of copper, two large cymbals, two hautboys, two trumpets, and a bell. The hautboys were made of wood, with silver mouth-pieces, and shifting reeds. The trumpets were of copper, eight or ten feet long, and made with three joints, like those of a telescope. The open end was about five inches in diameter, the mouthpiece small. The tone was clear and deep, and might be heard to a great distance, but it requires long practice to blow the instrument properly. Nothing could be harsher than the sounds emitted by unpractised players,. In the temple the trumpet rested on the ground: when used in processions a young Lama assists in carrying it. The drum was not above five inches deep, and about twenty in breadth. It was suspended by a ring on one side to a cord stretched across the chamber, and, being steadied by the player with his left hand, was beaten by him with a crooked metallic rod, capped with

leather on the striking end. The recitations or chants alternated with the music, which, though monotonous, was not unpleasing, and the strength and spirit of the singers and players were kept up by copious libations of tea and chang.

The monastery of Lama Yuru is invested with the privileges of a sanctuary, which they assert have been confirmed to it by edicts from the Emperors of Delhi and their governors of Kashmir. Documents which they showed me, with the seals of Aurungzeb, Fidai Khan, and Shir Khan, were, however, only to the purpose of directing that the Gelums should not be disturbed in their religious usages, and that their lands should not be encroached upon. A similar injunction has lately been obtained by them from Ahmed Shah, the Shiah Raja of Balti, drawn up in more explicit language, and a still more liberal spirit. At the request of the acting superior I left with him a paper expressing my acknowledgments of his hospitality.

The neighbourhood of Lama Yuru abounds with wild goats, but the Lamas objected to

our shooting any, as animal, as well as human life, should be sacred within the precincts of their sanctuary. Mr. Guthrie, however, brought one down amongst the rocks at some distance. He was too much injured by falling from a height to admit of very particular description, but the general character was allied both to the sheep and the deer. From Lama Yuru a road goes to Zanskar, which is said to be a journey of six days.

The road from Lama Yuru continued rough and ascending, until it crossed the crest of the Phatu La, a lofty pass, of the elevation of nearly fourteen thousand feet, in the ravines and recesses, adjoining which beds of snow were observable. After descending we proceeded along the right bank of the Kanji, a mountain stream coming from the southward at no great distance, and fed by different watercourses which crossed our path. Beyond the village or town of Eunasko *, a place consisting of about twenty-five houses and an old fort, the river was crossed by a sanga where it was about thirty feet broad, rapid, but not deep. Farther on at Kherbo,

* Hiunaskoth. Trebeck.

on its left bank, it expanded to a breadth of one hundred and fifty feet. The village of Kherbo was one of several which were situated on the skirts of a long, narrow valley, which was terraced and cultivated. It seemed to be in a state of decay, many of the houses were in ruins, and the people declared they were unable to furnish us with supplies. The poverty and dilapidation of the place were ascribed partly to a snow slip, which had destroyed many dwellings, and partly to the great havoc made by the late epidemic amongst the sheep. A third, and more mischievous cause, was the rapacity of the chief man, or Garpun. In the vicinity of Kherbo were several fortified enclosures, strongly situated on rugged rocks, but more or less in ruins. On this day's march we encountered several showers of rain, and twice we heard thunder, low and distant. The mountains on our right were not lofty, and presented somewhat gentle slopes; those on our left were steeper, but not more elevated. Corn is raised abundantly in this neighbourhood, and the surplus crop is sent, after the harvest, to Lé, where it is exchanged chiefly for salt brought from Chan-than. As there

was no obtaining fuel or fodder at Kherbo we advanced beyond it a short distance to Laghan, a small village on the right bank of the Kanji, in the same valley.

Crossing the river we advanced along its left bank to the village of Kanre, whence the Kanji runs off to the northward and falls into the Indus*. From hence the road ascended to the pass of Namikar, from which an extensive view presented itself of the valley of Molbi, and of a lofty chain of mountains beyond Kartse, one in particular towering high above the rest, and capped with snow. The descent lay over lower hills of clay soil, covered with a dwarf grass, on which large flocks of goats and Purik sheep were browsing, to a valley watered by a considerable stream, the Zakut, coming from the south-east. This river rises, it is said, about three days' journey off, and, flowing by Molbi and Pushkyum, receives the Kanji, and falls into the Indus. Near the end of this day's journey (20th June) the road

* According to information given to Mr. Moorcroft, the Kanji joins the Pushkyum river before it meets the Indus: from Mr. Trebeck's inquiries, however, it proceeds to the latter direct.—Ed.

passed between the foot of the mountains on the right of the valley and an insulated pillar of rock, about fifty feet high. On the face of this was sculptured the figure of one of the Tibetan divinities, named Chamba. It differed from the same representation in the temples in being decorated with the Brahminical cord hanging from the left shoulder and over the right hip. The figure was naked except round the waist, and was about twenty-four feet high, but the lower part was concealed by a low wall in front: the upper had been protected by a screen projecting over it from the rock; but this was gone, leaving only the holes in which the pins that had fastened it had been inserted.

The valley of Molbi is of considerable extent, and several straggling villages occur along the northern bank of the river. On the south the mountains come close to the stream, and are of considerable height. The Nuna Khalun has a residence at Molbi, but he was absent at Dras. His youngest son was in the village, and, during my absence, had come to the enclosure in which my tent was pitched, but had shown no inclination to

give my people any assistance in procuring supplies. I, therefore, determined not to trouble him by any application, and we managed, though indifferently, to dispense with his aid. The nurse of the young man, however, on whom, some time before, I had successfully operated for cataract, brought me a pile of wheat cakes, with some butter, milk, and flowers. The house of the Khalun stood upon the side of a hill, and was of considerable size, though indifferently constructed. Crowning a high rock above it was a building which answered the purpose of a fort. A small toll is levied at Molbi on merchandise, especially on shawl-wool. The next day we marched to the village of Lotzun, along the right bank of the river, and over such rugged ground that our horses were much more distressed and exhausted than on many much longer journeys. I had intended to have gone on to Pushkyum, but at Lotzun I was entreated to stop, and give surgical assistance to several blind persons. The hakim, or physician of the village, cleared a couple of rooms in his house for

the accommodation of my party, and my bed was placed in the viranda of a small mosque, the pillars of which were festooned with wreaths of flowers and ears of corn, presenting a curious mixture of Lamaism and Mohammedanism, the bulk of the people from hence to Kashmir being Mohammedans of the Shiah sect. Every village has its physician, who is called Aba, or father. The physician of Lotzun brought me several patients, including his own son, and before I started on the 22nd I operated on three individuals for cataract. The gratitude of the people was expressed by abundant fees of wheat cakes and butter, which I was obliged to accept, that I might not wound their feelings, as a refusal would have indicated to them my dissatisfaction or disdain.

On the 22nd I resumed the march to Pushkyum, continuing to follow the course of the river. When we arrived near the village we crossed the latter to the left bank by a sanga. At the foot of the bridge a young man ran to my horse, and, after making sundry obeisances, took hold of the flap of

my coat, and put it to his forehead, and, whilst so engaged, was joined by an old man, who went through the same ceremony. They then pressed me to pitch my tent in the shade of some willow trees, where they said I should soon see the Raja. I thought, at first, they were his messengers, but I found that the old man had recovered his sight by an operation I had performed the year before at Lé, and the other was his son. When I had complied with their request they disappeared, but presently returned with provender for our horses, and firewood for ourselves, some flour, and a sheep; and no persuasion could prevail upon them to take back the articles, or receive their value in return. This was the only way, they said, in which they could show their gratitude for the blessing I had conferred upon the old man, and they prayed me not to reject such an expression of their thanks. I, therefore, accepted their presents, and was well pleased, though not at all surprised, to find so lively a sense of obligation entertained by these simple people.

My tent was pitched on a narrow stripe of stony land, between the river and a flat

about two hundred yards long by thirty broad. This, it appeared, was the play-ground of the village for the game of polo, for presently the Raja arrived on horseback with about forty persons, all mounted, and armed with rackets, who, dividing into two sets, commenced playing with great spirit. On the cessation of the diversion the Raja sent me a pot of tea and a plate of satu, and intimated his wish to see me the next day, when he should return to the Mall. Accordingly on the day following, about noon, he arrived at a sort of summer house, near the playground, where I was invited to meet him. The interview was merely an exchange of civilities, and then he set off again to his sport, in which he received a severe blow from the bat of one of his followers: he bore it with great good humour. It appears he has only of late become a convert to Islam. His wife, who is a daughter of the Nuna Khalun, professes the Buddhist faith. A Sayid, who seemed to act as his ghostly adviser, produced a book which had descended from his grandfather to the Raja, and which proved to be an edition of the Old and New Testament from the Papal press,

dated in the year 1598. It was bound in Morocco, with the initials I. H. S., surmounted by a cross, stamped on each side of the cover. How it had come there no person could inform me, but it might possibly have been given to the former Raja by Desideri, who visited Ladakh, although it is very doubtful if he reached Lé. The Khalun and Khaga Tan-zin made, at my request, very particular inquiry regarding any evidence of a European having been at Lé before us, and no proof nor tradition of such an occurrence could be traced.

Pushkyum consists of a number of houses scattered along two valleys; the eastern is narrow, the western may be half a mile broad, disposed in terraces, and well cultivated with wheat and barley. Lucern was growing in profusion, being cultivated and raised from the seed of the wild mountain lucern. Pushkyum is the principal place between Lé and Kashmir, and although it has no regular bazar, it contains a few shops where flour, butter, rice, and other provisions are to be purchased. The inhabitants are all Mohammedans, and a number of mosques have been erected: but,

in general, they are mean and dirty hovels. Shortly after leaving Pushkyum the river diverged from the road, proceeding more to the north of west. At Kargil, about two kos distant, it meets with the Kartse river coming from the south-west. The united stream shortly afterwards meets another trunk, formed by the union of the rivers of Dras and Shingo, and the whole then flow in one main stream, called the Chudresa, which joins the Sinh-kha-bab at Moral, in Balti, which is said to be four days' journey on foot from Pushkyum. The passage by water, in winter, may be accomplished in a day *. We soon encountered the Kartse river, running with a considerable body of water, and being in some places a hundred feet broad. It is said to rise from the snows of Pinji La, in Zanskar, about six or seven days' journey distant. We crossed

* On the 18th of November Mr. Trebeck, following a rather more northern route, came to the junction of the Dras and Kartse rivers, on the road between Pushkyum and Chenagan: he followed the course of the former, and on the 19th came to the two branches, forming the Kinon Wei from Shingo in Balti, above twenty miles to the north-west, and the Sin Wei, or Dras river. The road then proceeded along the banks of the latter river by Shimsha and Gindial, and leaving the Ombta La on the left, arrived at the end of the valley on the 21st.—ED.

it by a substantial sanga to the village of Gonh. This village was situated in a close valley, of about three miles long and half a mile broad, divided by the Kartse into two lateral portions. It was flanked by steep and high mountains, the summit of which presented an almost unbroken ridge. The valley sloped gently, and bore a variety of herbage; the houses were scattered along the foot of the rocks. It is said to be cold in winter, and in summer, when there is no wind, it is intensely hot. In these characteristics, however, it partakes with very many of the villages in this part of Ladakh, and they afford no explanation of the great prevalence of goitre here, such indeed as to have given a name to the place, Gonh, meaning enlarged neck. Still less do they explain why the complaint is almost confined to the women, scarcely a woman being free from it, whilst it was rare amongst the men. The latter are like the rest of their countrymen; but the women, when young, have handsome features, and a complexion little darker than brunette. Whatever local cause affects the one sex must equally, it is to be supposed, affect the other, and this case

is only one out of many in which the occurrence of this complaint, so common in the mountain districts, varies in places, and amongst people, to all appearance, similarly circumstanced as to site, climate, water, food, and every presumable predisposing or exciting cause. From Gonh we proceeded along a similar valley to Kartse Cheles, a village in a bottom, with abundance of land in cultivation, the wheat and barley crops on which promised to be fit for the sickle in three weeks. The valley might have been a continuation of that of Gonh, except for the strangulated portion intervening where the rocks left barely space for the passage of the river. Goitre was also common, but it prevailed as much amongst the men as the women, though it was something larger in the latter. The cows of this district were more numerous, and in better condition than any I had seen since leaving the southern hills. They were small, but well shaped, with small horns; the prevailing colour was black, but it varied to pure red, and mixed with white. They are pastured on the hills, during the day, on lucern and white clover, and at night are fed with the

wild oat, gathered from amongst the corn for this purpose. Before being taken to their sheds they browsed upon some common pasture-grass, which was flooded an hour before their return. Two cows were fastened together by a rope attached to willow rings passed through their noses, and children were employed to prevent their straying.

The butter looked well, and as I had not tasted any in its natural state for two years, I promised myself a treat. I was disappointed, for it retained too much of the musty flavour of the old and unwashed skin in which it had been churned to be palatable. The yak, it is said, cannot live here, but the female thoma, from the male yak and the common cow, was numerous and handsome. It was said to give more milk than the cow. The sheep were small but of pretty good fleece. The lucern-fields of both kinds were good, and the general character of the country was fertility and abundance. The cottages were numerous, scattered along both sides of the river, in so straggling a manner, that it was not very easy to determine the limits of the villages. In each of these was an akhund, or village school-

master, and one or two individuals who could speak Persian or Hindustani. Every village had its mosque, and not a single Lama's house, or sculptured pile, made its appearance. Islamism is evidently making rapid strides, and there is every reason to expect that before long Ladakh will be entirely a Mohammedan state.

The Balti chief had agents in Pushkyum and the vicinity, who were detaching the affections of the peasantry from the government at Lé, and it was whispered that the chiefs of Pushkyum and of Soth meditated throwing off their allegiance, under the protection of the Balti Raja. Soth is but a few hours' journey from Pushkyum, on the right bank of the river, and consists of a village and a fort, the latter on a high and commanding elevation. With the change from Lamaism to Islamism an alteration has taken place in the costume of the women. Instead of the argus jacket and patchwork petticoat, a loose brown or black woollen tunic with sleeves, open in front to below the bosom, hangs from the shoulders nearly to the feet. It is sometimes tied round the waist with a girdle, but is com-

monly left loose in warm weather; underneath it the common dark woollen trowser was retained, but no boots were seen at this season. On the head the Tibetan lappet was displaced by a brown woollen cap; the hair was bound in a tress, and near the end was fastened a flat ornament, round or square, of coloured worsted-work, from which the usual tassels depended. Necklaces of coral or glass beads were worn, and amulets, of a piece of silk, with a verse from the Koran, were bound round the arm. The men had not deviated so much from the national garb, but wore fewer ornaments.

I had promised the Chugzat Lama of Himis that when I reached Kartse I would pay a visit to his brother, the head man, or Chuchu of Tamis, on the opposite bank of the river. The river was, however, now unfordable, and the sanga was high up; it was therefore arranged that I should meet him at Pharol, where he had a residence; and we left Kartse for that place on the 26th. The valley in which it is situated runs nearly north and south, and is divided into two parts by the Kartse Chu. The mountains enclosing it

were lofty, and those on the south were thickly covered with snow. In the day the sun was distressingly hot, whilst at night warm covering was indispensable. Goitre was here very common: the water was soft; whilst at Gonh it was too hard to mix with soap; but so it was at Lé, where goitre does not prevail: at all three it is derived chiefly from melted snow. On the 27th the Chuchu, with his son and several attendants, arrived, and were entertained at my tent.

Hearing from the Chuchu that the sheep, of which I was desirous of collecting a small flock, were likely to be procured more advantageously at some village higher up the river than at Pharol, I set off in that direction. Passing through the cultivated lands of that village, we descended by an easy slope to those of Sankho, on the left bank of the Nakpo chu, or black water. This stream comes from the west, and falls into the Kartse on its left bank. It is formed of two streams, the Mazadi and the Omba, from mountains so named. The water of the former is clear, of the latter dirty black; the latter flowing over the face of some soft black rocks, and

washing down a great quantity of the soil. It discolours the Kartse, along its left bank, for some distance after entering it. Two miles higher up the Kartse receives a considerable accession, on its right bank, from the Pulumba chu, coming from the east in the direction of Zamkar. Part of the road lay through narrow stony lanes, on each side of which the wild rose formed a beautiful and fragrant hedge. At one place a height commanded a view of the lands and villages of Sankho, lying in an amphitheatre bounded by mountains, on the tops of which snow was yet unmelted. The only timber consisted of pollard willows, and some fruit-trees; but the slopes of the hills were diversified by patches of verdure, and numerous flocks of goats and sheep, giving me a more favourable view of the produce of shawl-wool in Ladakh than I had been accustomed to entertain.

On my arrival at Sankho I found that a report of my purpose had preceded me, and so raised the price of the sheep that it was impossible to effect the purchase. I therefore left a commission with the Chuchu to procure for me the requisite number under more favour-

able circumstances, and resumed my journey towards Dras. Goitre was not common at Sankho, but it is said to be much more frequent on the lands on the eastern or right bank of the river in the same valley.

From Sankho we ascended the Nakpo chu along its right bank, a little more than a mile, to the village and lands of Stak-pa, where the sward reminded me of the pastures of Britain, consisting of a poa grass, white clover, plantain, dandelion, dock, bugloss, &c. The cattle were numerous and in good condition. The tilled lands were extensive, and laid out in slopes, but not supported by walls, and in general the cultivation was unusually slovenly for Tibet.

On the 30th of June we commenced the ascent of the steep and difficult pass of the Omba mountain. On the way we crossed the Mizadi, coming from the south-west, and pouring its waters with impetuosity into the Nakpo chu. It was forded with some difficulty, and we had then to ford the Nakpo chu, which was rushing along a broad and stony bed with much foam and fury. On an extensive level, interrupting the ascent, stood the village of

Omba, consisting of three clusters of houses, on the right bank of a rivulet, the Omba-chu coming from the mountain on the north, and joining the Nakpo-chu just below the village. The latter flows from the Braknak mountain, about a mile off, in a direction to the south-west. The situation of Omba was high and the winter had been severe. There were still immense masses of unmelted snow in the bed of the river, and I was told that, during the preceding winter, snow had fallen in the village to the depth of twelve feet, cutting off all communication with the neighbouring village, and sometimes blocking up the people in their houses for a week together. On our way up the ascent, between a village called Undih and Omba, I first met with the Prangos.

On the 1st of July we continued our upward path, and with much labour and difficulty reached the crest of the Omba La. The view from the crest presented a majestic line of snow-covered mountain-tops, very little above the level of the pass, extending round a circle of at least twenty miles in diameter. The uniformity of the ridges was very remarkable, for, although broken with peak and

gorge, yet there were no single mountains or mountain-chains that towered ambitiously above their fellows. The descent was abrupt, but not very difficult, passing occasionally over firm beds of snow, on the edge of which numerous marmots were playing about. Soon after leaving Omba we lost the prangos, but on the descent we met with the rhubarb plant just about to flower, and with a species of garlic, and of chive, the latter with yellow flowers, which are cropped by the marmot and the sheep. The marmots we met with on the ascent were sitting on their hinder legs on stones near their burrows, and on our approach made the rocks echo with their loud and shrill cries. There was no getting within gun-shot of them, as, approach in whatever direction we might, and with whatever precaution, we were sure to be detected by one or other, who immediately shrieked an alarm. I succeeded, however, in hitting one, who, more curious than the rest, repeatedly issued from his hole to look at us, and, although he escaped for the time, we found him next morning dead in his burrow.

At Twaje Chu, where we encamped, we

found a small plain and some walled enclosures, intended as shelters for travellers. The night was excessively cold, and in the morning I found my tent stiff with frozen dew: a sharp wind was blowing, and my people were shivering in spite of sheep-skins and fires. I expected to find the plants of the plain nipped by the sudden and violent transition from a scorching sun to a sharp frost, but I was mistaken, for soon after the rays of the sun had reached them the flowers were open, and as fresh and blooming as if the night had been temperate. On the sides of the mountains to the north-west of the pass, which were moderately clothed with verdure, close to the snow, were several droves of mares and geldings at pasture; they were in general about fourteen hands high, active and strong, in good condition and well-shaped, although rather too long in the back. They belonged to the carriers of Dras, carrying occasionally loads and travellers to Kashmir and Lé.

On the 2nd of July, a road of frequently alternating descent and ascent led us over the summit of a lofty mountain, from whence we had a full view of the valley of Him-bab

(snow-source), or Dras, a long narrow dale, stretching from north-west to east, with a fillet of river running down its centre from end to end, and fed by numerous rills rushing from the rocks on either hand. It was bounded to the west and south by lofty ranges of mountains, forming the eastern limits of Kashmir, and giving rise on one face to the Behut or Jelum, and on the other to the stream which was flowing beneath us. The valley appeared fertile, though not to the extent I had expected from accounts previously received; and, although there were many cottages, they were scattered about in an irregular and straggling manner, forming no village of considerable size. The fields were yellow with crops of wheat and barley, and the slopes of the hills presented patches of verdure. We descended the pass, and encamped in a field of prangos and lucerne.

On the following morning I paid a visit to the Nuna Khalun, who was encamped on the opposite bank of the Om-chu, a rapid and unfordable rivulet, flowing into the Dras river, crossed by a sanga. The Khalun was at breakfast with ten or twelve followers, and

we joined them in a repast of buttered tea. Mr. Guthrie and myself had left the people to follow with our tents and baggage, and a message was brought to me that one of the horses had stumbled in fording the Om-chu, and that his load had been thrown into the water. This proved most unfortunately to consist of my writing-box and bed; the former was broken, but recovered; all its contents, including one of my journals, being wetted: the bed, which was of brass, and so contrived as to fold up in a conveniently small compass, was carried down by the stream, and had disappeared. The Pushkyum Aba, who had accompanied me to learn the operation for cataract, threw himself into the stream to save the horse, but was carried under the water by the animal, and narrowly escaped drowning. A Yarkandi following his example, succeeded in bringing the horse to the bank, but the bed was not to be seen. It was in vain that I set people to search for it, as no traces of it were discovered; the rapidity of the current, and the diurnal increase of its waters from the melting of the snows at this season, rendering it dangerous to explore

its bed. The Khalun promised that it should be carefully searched for whenever opportunity permitted, but I had no expectation of recovering it, and I never saw it again. The accident was the more vexatious, as it proceeded entirely from the carelessness of the Hindustani Sais. If any European follow my track, I should strongly recommend him not to bring with him any Hindustani servants. In the winter they are benumbed by cold, and in summer careless and home-sick: with exception of a Khansaman and a writer, who may be natives of the plains, the servants for a journey in central Asia should be Persians, Tibetans, or Turanis. The first are objectionable when amongst the Uzbeks, on account of their Shiah faith, the second are apt to indulge in inebriety, the last are unquestionably the most useful.

The valley of Dras is situated in the district of the same name. If computed by the course of the river from its junction with the Kartse Chu to near its sources, it will be about fifteen miles long; but the part to which the name of Dras especially applies is a valley about two miles in length: in either case the breadth is

rarely more than a mile. The small valley is nearly closed at either extremity by the contraction of the mountains, and is everywhere much broken by projections from their base, or by torrents rushing down their sides, and crossing the slope to the river which runs along it, dividing it into two unequal portions, the northern being the most considerable. The mountains which bound it are lofty ranges of clay slate, backed by others of limestone of greater height, and of very rugged outline when the summit is not levelled by snow. Upon the former, below the line of snow, a thin vegetation of dwarf willow, stunted birch, rhubarb, and other alpine plants, commences; and lower still is the region of the prangos, and other hardy plants, including the great yellow orchis, the roots of which furnish salep. This the peasants collect and eat roasted, but they have not learned to make its nutritious infusion, nor do they cultivate the plant.

The climate of Dras is, like that of Ladakh in general, severely cold for half the year, and during the other half varying from intense heat in the day to cold almost freezing

in the night. Several showers fell during the month I remained in the valley, but at the same time dense clouds to the westward, and the information of travellers, established the fall of heavy rain in Kashmir. The crops cultivated are Sherokh barley, wheat, and buck-wheat; the first ripening in about three months, the second in five or six, and the last in six weeks or two months. The cattle are horses, cows, the hybrid between the yak and cow, and sheep and goats. The former, though small, are hardy, active, and tolerably well shaped: the price of a good five-year old gelding is eight or nine pounds sterling. The neat cattle are generally black, small, short horned, and well shaped, with rather a larger dewlap than is consistent with European notions of beauty. I could not ascertain the quantity of milk given by a cow, but I understood it to be tolerably large: the price of a cow in full milk after her second calf was to me two pounds, but this was more than the average price. The zho-mo, or female progeny of the yak and cow, was more valued for the dairy than the latter, and sold for a larger sum. In general the cattle

of this district were in much better condition than in any other part of Ladakh, owing to the abundant supply of prangos in summer, and its hay in winter, for their provender.

The population of Dras is small, and in poverty, being much exposed to predatory incursions from Little Tibet, the government taking no means for their protection, and the natural defences, which would seem, to an ordinary observer, to be impenetrable, being traversed with ease in winter, over the frozen snow, by the borderers of Tibet and Kashmir. The lands of Dras are the joint property of the Raja of Ladakh and the Malik, or chief landholder, of the neighbouring part of Kashmir, in consequence of a grant, in perpetuity, made by an ancestor of the Raja to a progenitor of the Malik *. The occupant of a house pays a rupee a-year and a small quantity of grain to each of these chiefs. This would be no great tax upon industry if it were the whole, but the people are subjected to various arbitrary exactions on the

* Baron Hügel says, the Maliks were officers in hereditary charge of the passes into Kashmir, appointed by Akber, who gave them villages to be held by this tenure. *J. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. vi. p. 346.—Ed.

part of the local authorities. The Nuna Khalun was at Dras when I arrived for the purpose of raising contributions towards the expense of building a fort, and, whilst in the district, had exacted fifty sheep, besides a large quantity of butter, milk, and firewood, for the use of himself and attendants. The visits of the Malik are equally costly, and the people are further liable to be pressed as porters and labourers for either landlord, not only for their personal service, but that of all travellers and merchants, for the pecuniary profit of the superior. In a year of brisk traffic this has been known to amount to about fifteen thousand pounds, of which the Chamal, or head farmer, and the Karpun, or local governor, manage to pocket about one-third, transmitting the remainder, in equal portions, to the Raja and the Malik; the poor peasants receiving no compensation whatever for their labour, loss of time and injury to their own lands. This system of oppression has not only impoverished the people; it has demoralized them, and they are the most dishonest race in Ladakh. They dared not plunder openly, but they lost

no opportunity of pilfering, and were most exorbitant in their charges, whilst professing extreme anxiety to serve me. I could not obtain a single fagot, nor half a pint of milk, for less than a piece of silver, in value seven pence. The disposition to purloin was incessantly manifested. A ewe, presented to me over night, was carried off before the morning. Whilst operating on a patient for cataract, my case of pocket instruments, which lay open beside me, was nearly emptied of its contents. A tent, which had got wetted, being hung out to dry, was shorn of one-fifth of its canvas. In short, we were obliged to be continually on the alert to preserve any part of our property that was profitable. This is not the character of the Tibetans in general, especially of those who follow the faith of Buddha. The people of Dras are Mohammedans, and my intercourse with the Shiah Mohammedans has found the upper classes intolerant, and the lower dissolute and unprincipled. The people of the western provinces, in particular, and of Ladakh generally, have suffered much moral detriment from association with the Kash-

mirians, the most profligate race, perhaps, in the world. The inhabitants of Dras are rather under the middle stature, though taller than those of the eastern districts, and have coarse and unattractive features. Their houses are built of pebbles, cemented with earth, and with terraced roofs, and are most inartificial fabrics. As usual they are built without chimneys, and the smoke with which they are commonly filled accounts for the frequency of complaints of the eyes. In the course of two months I operated on fifty cataracts, and the patients who applied for relief in inflammatory affections of those organs were exceedingly numerous.

The most valuable produce of the valley of Dras is the prangos, which grows in great luxuriance upon the slopes of the hills, and supplies an invaluable fodder, both in summer and winter, for the cattle. The inspection of it in its native seats was my chief inducement for the visit, and I had an opportunity of observing it in full flower. The result of my inquiries is recorded in another place: as soon as they were completed I quitted Dras, and returned to Lé.

CHAPTER IX

Excursion of Mr. Trebeck to Piti—Tung-lung Pass—Plain of Rupshu—Religious Structures—Tents of Shepherds—Whirlwinds—Lake of Thog-ji Chenmo—Pass of Nak-po-gonding—Tsumereri Lake—Parang La Rivulet and Pass—a Horse lost—Country improved—River of Losar—Report of an English Traveller—Halt at Rerik—Captain Mercer on his way to Sujanpur—Valley of the Losar, or Piti River—Fort of Trankar—Frontier of Bisahar—Figure of Sakya—Radokh Goat—Orders for a Levy of the People—Cause of Dispute with Kulu—Subterraneous Watercourses—Description of Piti—Village—Population—Village Councils—Revenue—Trade—Harvest Festivities—Return—Storm at the Parang Pass—Kiangs.

MR. TREBECK'S EXCURSION TO PITI

LEAVING Lé on the 8th of June, I proceeded by our former route through Stakna, Marsilla, and Giah, to the site of our encampment on the 15th of September, on the southern side of the Tung-lung pass. The chief difference observable was in the state of the rivers, which were now swollen by the melting of the snow. The Sinh-kha-bad was thrice its size, and petty rills, which were

scarcely noticed when we last traversed them, had grown to respectable and almost unfordable streams. Although, however, the heat of the sun during the day was intense, the nights were cold, and we descended the pass in a shower of snow.

On the 12th of June we proceeded along the valley or plain of Rupshu in a south-easterly direction. The valley varied in breadth, and occasionally expanded into a broad plain, but, in general, it was not more than from five hundred to seven hundred paces in breadth. The hills on either side were covered with the winter's snow, and we had occasional falls of hail and snow in the plain. The soil of the latter was at first loose clay, and afterwards consisted chiefly of micaceous sand, scattered over with stones, and thinly patched with stunted furze: several rivulets crossed it, and in their beds and on their banks a small quantity of grass was growing, which affords pasturage in winter to the flocks of the shepherds of the more exposed districts. Along the plain were a number of the structures called "Manis," the precise purpose of which we

were never able to ascertain. The most common are of the form of a parallelopiped, and roughly built of stones, the upper ones bearing inscriptions, chiefly of the sacred sentence, "Om mani padma hom." Another kind, often erected at the ends of the first, though not unfrequently detached, is built in the form of a cube, surmounted by a truncated pyramid, supporting the lower part of a cone reversed. Above all is placed a stick or pole, but the better kinds are ornamented by a pinnacle of well-burnt red brick, terminated by a crown or crescent of brass, or painted wood. Near the end of our day's journey we passed, at some distance, the large pond or lake of Thog-ji Chenmo. Near our encampment a Champa, or shepherd and his family, had encamped, and several other tents were near. One party had arrived from Kag-jung, only a few hours before us. They reported the destruction of a large number of cattle, in consequence of the severity of the winter and difficulty of procuring provender. The tents of the Champas are of ragged black blanket, about four feet high, and open along the top. Their

interior is furnished usually with abundance of dirty sheep and goat skins, some sewed into coats, two or three iron pots, and one or two of brass or copper, some iron spoons, a churn for tea, not for butter, which is made by rolling or shaking milk in a leather bag, and some wooden milk-pails, which are seldom, if ever, washed. The rest of the shepherd's equipment is carried about his person, as his tea cup, pipe, tobacco pouch, chakmak, or flint, and tinder, knives, a small spoon, and several needles; a small wooden flageolet is also sometimes stuck in the girdle. These articles, with their cattle, constitute the property, and are sufficient for the comfort, of a Ladakh shepherd and his family. The head ornaments of the women are of the fashion of Chan-than, not of Lé, the lappet being widest on the forehead, and falling in a narrow slip down the back. It is similarly decorated with turquoises and cornelians. The costume of the men is the same, except in the cap, which, by the shepherds of Gardokh and Rodokh, is worn of a yellow cloth, with a border of gimp or fox skin, and a top-knot of scarlet twist or

shreds of red silk. Amongst these people when an individual of property dies the body is burnt, as usual, but that of a poor person is left on the spot where he expired, the face only being covered. The party near us had with them about twenty yaks, nearly all of them black, and of form and size very superior to those of Chushul.

I had never seen the phenomenon of the whirlwind more common than on this plain: it was, perhaps, like that of the Arabian desert on a smaller scale, raising a column of sand suddenly to a great height at one particular spot, whilst all around the air was perfectly calm. In general these sudden gusts are not at all dangerous, but strange stories are told of their occasional violence in particular spots, and they are said to be sufficiently strong at Digar to carry horse and man off their feet, being accompanied by reports like those of artillery. I can confirm the truth of these last stories to a less exaggerated extent, having heard on the Digar pass the wind howling through the crags at a very considerable distance with a noise occasionally like that of a falling stone. Very pos-

sibly an exposed portion of rock had been blown down.

The greater part of the road of the 13th skirted the edge of the lake. The number of wild geese was prodigious. On a bank within it, about two hundred yards long, and twenty broad, there were at least three hundred; several chakwas, or Brahmani geese, were observed amongst them. After leaving the lake we ascended a narrow defile to a Latoh, where we halted. In the morning we encountered a bleak wind and snow; in the afternoon the thermometer rose to 89°, and the sun was very hot: at night again there was frost. In this neighbourhood are some sulphur mines, which are worked: the sulphur is cleaned by pounding, and then melting with a small quantity of suet over a slow fire.

The journey of the 14th led us over various ascents and descents of the usual barren and desolate character, unfitted, apparently, alike for vegetable and animal life. The principal pass traversed was that of Nakpo Gonding, which had an elevation of above seventeen thousand feet, and in surmounting which the whole party suffered much inconvenience

from difficulty of breathing. This sensation, in mountainous countries, is not, perhaps, exactly what is understood by similar difficulty in the plains, it may be best defined a frequent inclination, and, at the same time, a sense of inability, to sigh. The descent was comparatively easy, and led to the district of Chakshang. Early on the following day we arrived at the most northern point of the Tsumureri Lake, and continued, during that and the ensuing day, along its western bank. Steep mountains rise abruptly from the lake on either side of it. Those on the opposite side were about two thousand feet high, but those on our right were not so lofty. The general breadth of the lake may have been about a mile and a half, including the broken ground on its edges formed by ravines and watercourses, and it appeared to be deeper and less clear than the Lake of Pang-kung. It contained no fish, and was not much frequented by wild-fowl: the taste of the water was brackish*. A river of some size, formed of a number of watercourses and streams,

* Mr. Gerard afterwards visited this lake which he calls Chuinonenil: he places it at an elevation above the sea of fifteen thou-

which crossed the road, and turned the angle of the lake, flowed into it on the opposite side. In the middle of May the lake was frozen over sufficiently to be crossed by a man.

On the 17th we crossed a platform, chiefly of gravelly soil, in some places swampy, and intersected by the Parang La river, which we forded, and afterwards ascended through a long, narrow defile, between steep rocks, which sometimes approached so close as to leave no path except the river itself. The day's journey terminated on a small platform termed Pha-lung Palrak, or "stones where wool is clipped." The people of Piti and Rupshu annually meet here to barter, the former grain and provisions for the wool of the latter, and they find shelter in the lee of huge blocks of chert which are lying about. Appearances here announced a more difficult road than we had for some time traversed, the rocks being rugged and precipitous, dreary, and topped with snow. Near the summit of one in our vicinity there was an

sand feet, and observes, that whilst it is fed by several considerable streams it has no efflux, and is kept at its level entirely by evaporation.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. xviii. p. 259.—Ed.

accumulated mass of snow, at least fifty feet deep.

The same defile continued more or less filled by the river, to which frequent supplies were brought by rivulets and rills from the rocks on either hand, originating in the snow-beds with which every nook and recess was filled. In one part of the defile a mass of snow formed a complete bridge across the stream. Loose fragments of rock, piles of gravel, and mouldering clay and sand, were the principal substitutes for a path in the river's bed. At Nishing-long the defile opened into a valley, which was crossed, and another defile, that of Tratang Kongma, entered. The rocks that bounded it consisted of a flinty stone, of a dark grey colour, intricately veined with white quartz. Their surface was bleached to the straw-colour of limestone, and they rose in sharp craggy peaks ; one opposite to where we encamped, shot up in the form of a cone, to the height of one thousand five hundred feet, with sides too precipitous to be scaled. Here the gigantic chakor, called, in Piti, Komo, was numerous.

On the 19th of June we crossed the pass of Parang La. The ascent, though not of the

most abrupt description, occupied us from day-break till noon. In the lower part the snow lay in lines, with edges sufficiently frozen to bear our weight, and we stepped along as if we had been walking upon boards placed on their edges. Higher up it was softened by the sun, and we had the agreeable variety of sinking into it knee-deep. My horse was so utterly incapable of proceeding, long before reaching the summit, that it was necessary to dismount and leave him to his fate. I should have put an end to his sufferings, but was persuaded that some men might be sent back for him with food from Kiwar, though I had little expectation of this being effected in time. The height of the pass above the sea was not less than nineteen thousand feet*. To the south and south-west a confused succession of snowy peaks presented itself, none of which were much higher than the Parang La, though some loftier peaks appeared to the south-west. The Bara Lacha pass was pointed out to the south-west. The crest of the Parang La, and the descent on the southern face,

* This pass was also crossed by Mr. Gerard, who states it to have an elevation of more than eighteen thousand feet.—Ed.

were free from snow. The mountain on each side of the pass was not more than one hundred and fifty feet above us; the descent was very steep. The pass was, upon the whole, one of the most difficult we had encountered: we encamped in a gorge not exceeding twenty-five paces in breadth.

The road on the 20th commenced in the defile through which, as usual, flowed a rivulet intersecting the path, but we crossed upon natural bridges of snow. This opened into a valley where the villages of Kikiem and Kiwar and their cultivated lands were met with. Short grass and furze covered the less abrupt slopes of the mountains, and a few stunted willows adorned the edges of the rivulets. Although much less fertile than Lahoul, the country surpassed that to the north of the Parang La.

On the 21st it continued to improve, and we again saw our old acquaintances—sweet-briar, wild roses, and currant-bushes in abundance. A platform, extending from the foot of the mountain we had crossed, was skirted by the river of Losar. This is formed by two rivulets, one coming from this side of the Bara Lacha pass, said to be not more than one

day's journey from Kikiem, and the other from the Kulzum La, on the way to Kulu. There are roads to these places along the streams. Across the Losar are several villages, at one of which, Rerik, we encamped.

At Kiwar a report had reached us that an English gentleman, attended by four men, was on his way to Bara Lacha and Kulu, and this was confirmed at Rerik, which place the person in question had quitted only the day before. As there could be no doubt of the fact, therefore, I dispatched two men on horseback with a note to him, to ascertain who he was, and offer him assistance should he need it. I waited at Rerik the return of my messengers, and, on the 23rd, they brought me a reply. The gentleman was a Captain Mercer, on his way to Sultanpur. As he was pressed for time, he regretted he could not return to meet me. He was accompanied by four men, and his baggage was carried by them and two loaded asses, with which alone he would find it a serious task to cross the Kulzum La. I regretted not having been a day earlier, that I might have seen him and given him some information that might have been of service. It was now too late, and I

could only wish him the success which his enterprising spirit deserved. From Rerik I sent letters to Lieut. Gerard, at Kothgerh, to inform him of my approach to the frontier of Bisahar.

We left Rerik on the 24th, and proceeded along the platform, the average breadth of which, above the river, was seven hundred paces. The soil was clayey, and the greater portion of its surface cultivated. The river was joined, in the valley, by a number of small rivulets, deep though fordable. A sanga was thrown across the main stream, which rolled in a bed of gravel, and was fringed with willows, and some varieties of thorn. At some distance we passed through the village of Kaj, the cultivated lands of which were on the right; on the platform, to the left, at some distance ahead, were two temples, Tangiut and Gingul, with villages and lands attached. The level surface of the valley was here about five hundred yards broad, and branches of the river were running in every part of it. The day's journey terminated at the small village of Lara, where the breadth of the valley was about nine hundred

paces. The rocks on the left appeared to support a table-land ; those on the right were connected with snowy ridges. The road on the 25th continued of much the same character along the Losar, which was joined by the Pin, a river of equal size, coming from the south-west. Towards its termination the road ascended the side of a steep and crumbling mountain to the fortress of Dankar, or, as more correctly called by the Tibetans, Trankar. This is built upon an irregular ridge of rock, running out to the south of the general line of the mountain. It presents a precipitous face to the river, and on the west, also, is almost inaccessible. The path to it, scarcely more than a foot broad, might easily be rendered impassable, by a few stones being rolled down. On the south-east the path is exposed, but, eight hundred feet above it, the mountains slope so gently that they afford pasture-lands to the cattle of the village. A pond is situated on this part of the rock, from the bottom of which two rills percolate the soil, and furnish water for irrigation. The hither one also supplies the fort with water, though inconveniently, as it lies far below.

A rough stair of bricks leads to it, defended at the bottom by a sort of bastion. The fort itself is of an irregular narrow figure, and does not differ essentially in shape or strength from a common house; some of the defences are whimsically placed, particularly a small enclosure with loop-holes, large enough to contain ten or twelve men, which is perched on the top of an isolated pile of gravel, rising like a column from the rill at the base. The rest of the houses are built on the lower portion of the eminence, and are constructed as usual of stone and large unburnt bricks. On the opposite side of the river, distant about three miles, was the village of Mane, and the crest of the pass, leading to Rubak in Bisa char, was not more than six miles horizontally distant, in the direction of south-east. The upper part of the defile leading to it had a considerable quantity of snow in it, but it did not appear more difficult than that of Parang.

As a principal object of my visit to Trankar was to communicate more readily with Lieut. Gerard, at Subathu, and to facilitate, if he continued to desire it, his journey to Lé, I

established myself in a house in the village to await replies to my letters. The house belonged to the Taoche, or head of the carriers, and he with Khaga Khan, the manager of the district, and the Pa-on or scribe, paid me every civility in the absence of the chief of Piti, Sultan Begh, whom I had left at Lé.

The Pa-on, in addition to his literary attainments, proved to be a skilful carver and gilder, and had executed in wood-work a representation of Sakya Muni, which with reference to the state of the arts in this country, and the coarseness and imperfectness of the tools, was an extraordinary performance. Sakya was represented seated cross-legged, as usual, upon a lotus, resting on a platform, supported by two white lions with bushy tails, like those of the yak. The body of Sakya was gilt, and the drapery about his person painted red: he was surrounded by foliage, amidst which were the figures of a white elephant, a lion, a horse and horseman, two parrots, one over each shoulder, and above them two heads of cherubs, surmounted by three-headed snakes. The whole was topped by a winged and horned nondescript figure, having the head

of an eagle, the body of a man, and the tail of a fish. The whole was grotesque enough, and not a little out of proportion, yet the effect was striking, and the workmanship curious and elaborate.

During my residence the chief Lama of the district departed on a trading trip to Tashi-gong; he was accompanied out of the village by forty Gelums, who walked after him in procession, and a few women with pots of butter milk. At the foot of the descent the party sat down and partook of the provisions they had with them, after which the Lama made them a speech, and gave them his blessing, holding out his hands over them, and putting them on the heads of those who were near him, in a truly patriarchal fashion.

On the 13th of August two Shikaris brought me a young goat, of the variety called Radokh: it appeared to be about two years old. The hair was of a light grey colour, slightly tinged with yellow. It was four feet two inches in length, from the tip of the nose to the end of the tail, and two feet five inches high at the shoulder. The huntsmen say

it seldom grows above five inches taller. If so, it must be a different variety from the wild goat in the neighbourhood of Lé, as that is considerably larger; but there are a number of species, no doubt, in these mountains, of a character between the goat and the deer, which are new to naturalists.

On the 15th orders were received from Lé, stating, that it was the purpose of the Khalun to levy an armed force for the purpose of retaliating upon Kulu, for the foray lately committed by that state on Ladakh, and ordering the people of Piti to prepare to meet him near Koksar, on the north side of the Ratanka pass. He threatens death to any who shall run away, should any fresh attack be attempted before his arrival; but this is only intended to give confidence to the people, for he knows very well, should they ever be persuaded to take the field, the first shot from a Kulu matchlock would put the whole Ladakhi force to flight. They do, however, sometimes grow pugnacious, and Khaga Khan was actually busied in adjusting a dispute between the two villages of Kiwar and Kikiem, in which an affray had taken place, and a few

heads had been broken. The circumstances of the dispute with Kulu were the following.

About six years ago, when Khaga Rabghi was the governor of the district, attempts were made by the Gadhes, or shepherds of Chamba, Kulu, and its neighbourhood, to export shawl-wool to the southern hills, by way of the Parang pass. As this was a contraband trade, an order was received from Lé to have it seized, and in obedience six or eight flocks, amounting, perhaps, in the whole to fifteen hundred sheep, partly laden with coarse wool, were stopped and possession was taken of the whole of the forbidden article, but nothing more: none of the animals were injured, nor was any violence offered to the shepherds. This deterred the traders from speculating again in the same way, and the authorities of Ladakh had no application made to them by the Raja of Kulu for the restitution of the property confiscated. Indeed, the occurrence seems to have remained unnoticed for more than four years, as both the Rajas were on friendly terms, and an agent from Kulu was residing at Lé when we arrived at that city. But somewhat

more than a year since, a large armed body of the Kulu peasantry, headed by a near connexion of Sobha Ram, entered Piti by the Losar pass, and meeting with no resistance, took possession of everything which was worth carrying away, and had not been concealed. They advanced no further than Rerik, and destroyed several houses by lighting large fires in the rooms. The Gonpa of Kih was much injured. The property taken off consisted chiefly of yaks, horses, and other live stock, but an estimate cannot be made of the amount of the loss. The conduct of the invaded was amusingly characteristic. Every family subject to taxes possesses a matchlock, a sword, and a bow and arrows; but instead of employing these in defence as would have been supposed, no sooner was information of the attack given, than most of them were buried in the nearest piece of land convenient for the purpose, and the owners fled precipitately to the least accessible part of the hills, dragging after them as much of their household furniture as possible. The Kaj sanga, and that across the Gingul river were broken down, and the

flight was general, even at Dankar. Khaga Khan shut himself up in the fort, and the Pa-on, after having in vain requested him to make an offer of a present of grain to such of the villagers as were willing to resist the enemy, saddled his tattoo, took refuge amongst the crags above, and remained three days concealed there. At the end of this period several of the people assembled, a drum was beat, a few matchlocks were discharged, and a report was spread that a force had arrived from Lé by the Burgiok road to their assistance. This had the desired effect, and the foragers immediately retreated. The list of killed on both sides might amount to about sixteen, but these fell in a very unusual way; six or seven of the attacked lost their lives by slipping from the cliffs, over which they were trying to escape, and the deaths of the remainder (of the offensive party) were caused by overcharged stomachs, with the exception of one only, who was drowned in the river. Sobha Ram's accusation is little likely to be true, not merely because the disposition of the people is at variance with the commission of an act, such as the one as-

cribed to them, but because three or four of the Kulu men, who were afterwards taken prisoners, were permitted to escape without injury, even when the irritation excited by the inroad was at its height. The quarrel was, however, ultimately adjusted, without a farther recourse to arms.

I have noticed above the two subterraneous watercourses from the pond on the mountains. On the afternoon of the 15th the one that supplied the village was choked: after some interval its liberation was announced by a loud rattling noise, and presently an immense mass of mud, earth, and stones, came rushing through the gutter in such quantities, that the villagers were alarmed for their crops, and sought to arrest the fall, or turn it aside. Fortunately it ceased after a short time, but the effect was extraordinary, especially compared with the apparent insignificance of the rill. The stream seemed scarcely adequate to stir a stone of half a pound weight, but the slime brought down extended for several yards of the depth of three and four feet, and imbedded blocks of stone that could not have weighed less than

a ton. The most liquid portion of the mass had been in the centre, and had run off, leaving a large drain between heaps of rubbish on either side. I had often before noticed similar accumulations rising in ridges along the slopes of the hills, and had been at a loss to account for their origin.

The Lassan government, at least that of Chan-than, claims a jurisdiction over the south-eastern part of Piti, and a Lama, on the part of that province, resides at Kih Gonpa, a day's journey from Trankar. The larger part of the district is, however, subject to Ladakh, and perhaps its political authority is extended to the whole, the charge of the Lama being religious rather than secular. It is said to have been formerly included in Bisahar, subsequent to the Lassan conquest of Chan-than, since when Lassa has subjugated no part of Ladakh. The district contains a number of small villages, or thirty in Piti so called, and thirteen in the adjacent district of Pin, averaging rather less than ten houses in each. The male population was stated to be one thousand and seventy-eight, including children; and if the same propor-

tion prevailed as at Trankar, where it was to a house, men, one-seventh, women, one-ninth, and children, one-third, or nearly five altogether, the total population of the district would be about two thousand.

The people of Piti are completely of Tartar appearance in form and face; the men are less robust and better grown than those more to the north, and the women are far from good looking. The men are much less industrious also than those about Lé, and are of a worse character, being quarrelsome, dishonest, and still more addicted to chang, being rarely quite sober. Their dress consists of the usual black woollen cap, with a long coat and trowsers of the same material, and the common boots. The Lamas of Pin differ from their brethren, in allowing their hair to grow and to become matted, and in wearing black. The female tunic is also chiefly of that colour, but the trowsers are red. The hair is nicely platted into a number of small braids which hang down the back, and are collected into a point, which is decorated with pieces of amber and coral. The mantle which is used in winter is plain,

and either of sheep-skin or of coarse home-manufactured cloth.

The authority of the Raja of Ladakh, or rather that of the Khalun, is absolute, and is exercised through a chief, who seldom visits Piti, except at harvest time, to collect the revenue. This office is therefore discharged by a deputy, who is rarely a person of much influence, and whose measures are completely controlled by the Gatpos, corresponding with the Sianas of Gerhwal, and Mukhyas of Bisahar; householders acting for a month in turn as elders of the villages. These should meet five or six times a year to discuss the interests of the district; but unless some matter which they consider important is under agitation, those most distant from the place of rendezvous rarely attend: when they meet, these delegates of the Piti commons display more vehemence than wisdom: they seldom proceed to business before their faculties are whetted by copious draughts of chang, and the cup circulates freely during the debate. They sit down on the ground without any order, and one man may be seen resolving some grave question whilst he twirls a roll of

yarn, and another contemplating views of policy through a mist of tobacco smoke. An orator rarely makes much progress in a lengthy harangue, and the lungs of the whole assembly are generally in full play throughout the discussion, each being more anxious to be heard than to hear. If a dispute arises between individuals, the parliament of Gatpos must settle it; if a robbery is committed, they must inquire into it; and if the thief be discovered, award his punishment. The consequence is that thefts are constantly perpetrated with impunity. A knotty question with them was the provision of porters for my baggage, as how could they spare me half a dozen men, when they were all under military requisition for the warlike purposes of the Khalun. The conclusion they came to was, that the men could not be supplied, but that I might hire or buy ponies, or asses; or if I preferred it, I might have the women, as many as I pleased.

The whole revenue of Piti is collected in grain, by a measure called a khal, equal to eight pakka sers, and of the value of thirteen anas. The highest tax paid by any one is

fifteen khals, and the lowest seven; but as one-third of the population must be deducted as untaxable, having no landed property, the revenue is levied upon but two hundred and sixty-seven houses, and the average amount paid by each being estimated at eleven khals, the total will be two thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven khals, or in value two thousand three hundred and eighty-six rupees. Traffic is also carried on chiefly by barter, and money is almost useless. Salt, wool, tea, turquoises, sheep, and goats, are imported from Chan-than, and are paid for with grain, woollen cloth, and a few horses. From Bisahar and Kulu come iron, cooking utensils, brass, copper, tobacco, rice, dried fruits, tea-cups, timber, amber, and glass beads, &c., which are paid for with the grain, and horses, and woollen cloths of the district, and with the salt and wool of Chan-than, although the latter is an illicit export. The iron and metal vessels of the south are sent to Lé in exchange for tea, coarse cloth, coral, and dyeing drugs, &c. A lead mine exists at Po, but it is worked only on account of the Raja. The district is famous for its manufacture of

woollen cloth: several varieties are fabricated, some thick and heavy, with a long nap, others fine. All the wool made use of is of a coarse kind, and in consequence the finer cloths have a hardness, something similar to that of camelot or plaid, to which they are little inferior. They are much superior in strength to those of Lé, but are less soft and pliant: this is owing to the different methods which obtain in the construction. To the northward a coarse loom is in use, little unlike in its parts to the one common in Europe. Here the two ends of the warp are fastened together, and it is then stretched upon two rods, one fixed to the body of the weaver (who is invariably a woman) by a cord, which admits of the work being loosened or tightened at pleasure, and the other well fastened to some stones at a distance, equal to half the length of the cloth. The whole is close to the ground, on which the workwoman sits, but the portion close to her is slightly elevated by a third rod. Loops, each including a thread, and received upon a small stick like a rattan, supply the place of a heddle: of these there are three sets, which draw up

parts of the warp alternately as required. A large heavy mesh, into which a thin bar of iron is inserted, is a substitute for the reed, and three or more heavy strokes are made with its armed edge upon every thread of the woof. The last instrument must be taken out after the insertion of each piece of yarn, and when placed perpendicularly, with its two edges separating the warp, abundance of room is given for the passage of the balls of worsted made use of, without the covering of a shuttle. This part of the process is tedious, but the warp is prepared in a quick and simple way : several pegs are driven into the ground so near each other, that the whole may be reached without any material movement of the body : the yarn is fastened to one of them, and carried on round the others till a sufficient quantity has been wound : all are then taken out except three, which have their places supplied by rods, and the warp only requires spreading. Every woman knows how to weave, but only half their number may be considered as employed in the manufacture ; for if a house contains two, one is usually busy in the management of domestic

affairs. It may be estimated that two thousand seven hundred and fifty-two pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in the district. Each piece is about seventeen inches broad, and the average length may be stated at seven and a half yards; so that the whole will amount to twenty thousand six hundred and forty yards, of which the annual consumption in Piti may be about one thousand six hundred pieces, and the remainder is exported, to the extent of as much as thirteen thousand one hundred and forty yards. Very good sacking is also made of the hair and wool taken from the yak.

The same grains grow here as are common in the northern parts of Ladakh, but it would seem that the sherokh in no part of the district changes to the common barley in a higher temperature. The buck-wheat is likewise produced, but the climate does not admit of its being successfully sown after another crop, as customary in Purik.

The cattle are also generally the same. The sheep are almost all imported from Chanthan, as well as the goats, the kids of which degenerate, both in size and quantity of wool.

The horses, or rather ponies, are extremely small; they seldom exceed in height twelve hands, and for the most part their forms are imperfect, though usually they are active and hardy.

On the 15th of August the approach of harvest was celebrated by a public festival, and at the invitation of Khaga Khan I joined the party at his residence early in the forenoon. I found his room crowded by the men of the village, and the whole party was engaged in emptying some large earthen vessels of chang, the contents of which diminished as briskly as might well be imagined. There was also abundance of smoking, abundance of noise, and better than all, abundance of good humour. I had not been long seated before three of the company rose to dance, to a tune played by the blacksmith, who had exchanged his anvil for a couple of drums. The performance precisely resembled what we often witnessed at Lé: the motion of the feet was extremely slow and spiritless, but was accompanied by various movements of the hands and arms, and the waving of a woollen cloth in the form of a shawl, which

latter is always used for the purpose by the more wealthy people to the north. At twelve o'clock the liquor was well-nigh exhausted, and every one went home to saddle his horse, and put on his smartest dress. After this had been done, the whole again assembled in the hollow below the village, where a piece of ground about one hundred yards long had been smoothed for the occasion. On one side of this a small mark was set up, and every one galloped his pony past it, in general throwing at it with a stone, though one of the riders made use of a bow and arrow, and two others had their matchlocks. The last were admirable caricatures: both rode about as fast as an active person might hop, and fired with the muzzle of their guns within a few inches of the mark, which it is but justice to observe they always hit. Amusement was now suspended till near four in the afternoon, when every inhabitant of the village, both male and female, met in a yard close to the fort. A second and larger batch of chang was in readiness, and the dancing was incessant, and much more varied and entertaining than any I had seen at Lé. The

most pleasing part of it was performed by the women, who joined hands, and moved in a circle, with a regular step and much vivacity, singing at the same time. A *pas-seul* of an old shepherd was also amusing, as it had more of humour than vulgarity, and would have done credit to a clown on an English stage. Notwithstanding the rain which was falling the greatest part of the evening, the general mirth continued till dark unabated. On the following day eating superseded other occupations; though, quite contrary to European custom, the men regaled in one house, and their companions of the other sex in another. The former killed two sheep, the whole of which they devoured; but the latter seem to have fared much worse, and to have had little more to feast upon than parched barley, flour, and butter, perhaps with the addition of a small quantity of tea. Forming an opinion from the apparent pleasure with which they partook of this, their ordinary food must be of a greatly inferior quality.

After exchanging several communications with Lieut. Gerard at Kotgerh, the delivery of which was much interrupted and delayed

by the carelessness and irregularity of our messengers, I learned from him that he was unable to obtain leave of absence, and was therefore unable to join us in Ladakh. As some articles of value, including a packet of pearls, were on their way from Calcutta, I dispatched a confidential servant, Gholam Hyder, to Subathu, to wait for them, and bring them after me, and set off to return to Lé on the 22nd of August. On our way to Kaj we met with a large party of Pin people proceeding towards Lara, on the road to Chan-than, and forming the third kafila that had gone thither within a few days, for tea, wool, salt, &c.

The ascent to Kiwar was a work of labour, and we were obliged to procure the aid of the villagers to relieve the asses of their burthens. The situation of this village is perhaps the loftiest in Ladakh at which crops of corn are raised; the elevation is at least thirteen thousand feet, and the snowy peaks are not much above it. There is abundance of pasture on the swells of land to the north-east and east, and the stock of neat cattle belonging to the village is unusually large. At Kiwar I first

learned that dahi, or curdled milk, is churned into butter, and found a pail employed as a churn, the churning-stick being supported by two arms fastened to a post, and turned by a rope as in Hindustan. The natives affirm that butter made from milk in the first instance disagrees with them.

On the night of the 27th, on our approach to the Parang pass, we were visited by a violent storm of sleet and rain, from which we were imperfectly sheltered, and during which we were kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the constant falling of small fragments of rock swept down by the torrents; luckily none of them came near us, or, although they were not of great extent, they must have done mischief. The weather continued unsettled on the following day, but we succeeded in making our way to the top of the pass. There we were stopped. The snow rose like a wall on its northern face, and was found much too soft to bear loaded cattle. We were therefore obliged to stay for the night where we were, taking shelter in a latoh, or enclosure for travellers.

Appearances on the following morning were

not more favourable, but it was necessary to move onwards, and we attempted to descend. The loads, however, were soon thrown off, for the asses were frequently so deep in the snow, even without their burthens, that they could not extricate themselves without assistance. It was past noon before we had reached a platform, beyond which the pass was clear; and here we were obliged to remain until the baggage could be brought down, and this was not accomplished till the next day. As my tent was amongst the things left for the night, I was obliged to construct a shelter by piling some stones in front of a fragment of rock, and throwing a blanket over the top. My people crept into holes and crevices in the face of the mountain. The night was clear though cold. The snow terminated on our left, about three miles from the top of the pass, in a bluff point nearly fifty feet high; several rills trickled from its base, to supply the stream which we were thence to follow. Early in the afternoon we arrived at the place of our former encampments at Trattang, and thence proceeded without much more difficulty or fatigue to Lé. The only occurrence worthy

of notice was the appearance of several kiangs near the Nakpo gonding pass. Not having a gun with me, I missed a good opportunity of bringing one down, as they approached nearer than on any former occasion. I had, however, a good view of the animal, and am inclined to pronounce him to be an ass with some affinity to a mule.

PART III

JOURNEY TO KASHMIR AND PESHAWAR.

CHAPTER I

Relinquishment of the route by Yarkand—Departure from Lé—Friendly sentiments of the Authorities; and of the People—Wife of the Nuna Khalun—Upper road—Parties met on the way—Fall of a horse—Pass—Valley of Dras—Inroad from Hasora—Precipitate retreat—Mischief inflicted—Causes of the aggression—Continuation of the route—Phandas—Matayan—Boundary between Ladakh and Kashmir—Entrance into Kashmir—Zwaje La Valley—Pine Forests—Sona-murg—Sindh River—Station of Gagan-gir—Met by Surat Sing and escort—Villages—Anchal Lake—Entrance into the capital of Kashmir—Permission to winter in the city.

In the month of September Abdul Latif returned from Yarkand, and brought information that all attempts to procure the sanction of the Chinese authorities to our journey to that city were unavailing. The design was therefore abandoned, and I determined to proceed to Bokhara by way of Kashmir and Kabul. As soon as this was known, the

Khalun and Banka expressed their regret at our departure, and at the disappointment we had experienced; they declared themselves entirely satisfied with our conduct during our stay, and requested us to leave testimonials of our opinion of their behaviour towards us, promising to forward to me, at any time, anything I might wish to have from the country, and to give a welcome reception to any European who might hereafter visit Ladakh. The Khalun also expressed his hope that the state of Ladakh would be looked upon with favour by the British government. The Lonpa concurred in these sentiments, and the Raja and his son stated that they prayed every possible good might attend us. Presents of china, silks, tea, and a horse, were then made me, and on the 20th of September I made my first march finally for Lé.

The Imam and all the principal merchants accompanied us the first stage to Skarra, and many quitted us only on the third morning, when we started for Ling. At Phiang the deputy of the monastery entertained us in the absence of his principal, and sent us a supply of flour and butter for our journey; and on

our arrival at Ling, we were met by many persons for whom I had prescribed in my former visit, and who evinced their gratitude by bringing supplies of meal, butter, and apples. At Himis I collected a quantity of the seed of the flower or beardless barley, and at various places on my route provided a supply of apple-pips, apricot-kernels, and the seeds of grain, for transmission to India and to England. At Molbi I was appealed to by the wife of the Nuna Khalun, who was absent at Zanskar, on account of the refusal of my carriers to pay certain fees customary at this place. Going to her to discuss the subject, she received me with much graciousness, taking my offered hand between both hers and carrying it to her forehead. A seat was given me, and, at my request, she sat down beside me and entered, with great fluency and animation, upon the subject in dispute. The Cho-cho, as she was called, was rather good-looking, and of juvenile appearance, although the mother of twelve children. She was a complete woman of business, and commanded great influence in the district.

Upon arriving at Pushkyum the carriers,

who had at first proposed to follow the high road leading over Omba La, now recommended the lower one along the Dras river; but to this I objected, unless they engaged to make good any loss that might arise from the falling of the baggage with the stream. As they would not agree to this condition, we took the upper road by Minji. Between Minji and Lang Kartse we met the son of the Nuna Khalun, with three or four females of his family, on horseback, the women riding astride; they were dressed in brocade with mantles of broad-cloth, and seal-skin boots. As I was in advance of the party, and without an interpreter, our greeting was brief. The Khalun was preceded by a large flock of sheep, goats, cows, and horses, too probably the produce of exaction or compulsory gifts. This young man imitates his father's example, and, although scarcely twenty, is detested for his rapacity. This seems to be the season for visiting, for on the following day we met the son of the Raja of Soth and his wife, who were going to Lé. They were accompanied by a band of music. Music and dancing have followed the introduction of Mohammedanism

in the western parts of Tibet, and have, in a great measure, excluded the use of intoxicating liquors. Chang is little known to the west of Molbi.

From Lang Kartse we proceeded by a different route from that formerly followed by Sankho, and ascended the bank of the Zakut river, running from west by south, and falling into the Kartse chu. The path was narrow, rugged, and steep. At the distance of a mile and a half we came to a small village, from the lands of which the crops had been lately reaped. A large patch of ground was thickly covered with prangos plants. As we ascended we experienced the keenness of the wintry wind, and round the stems of a species of dock thin bands or ribands of ice had formed. The road then descended, but soon again took an ascending direction, skirting the right bank of a stream at a considerable height above it, which was carrying a supply of water to the Kartse chu. Here, on stepping over a block of jasper which crossed the road, my horse fell, and rolled with me a considerable way down the slope before I could get loose. The softness of the snow prevented my receiving any seris

ous injury, and the horse was brought up by a block of stone just upon the edge of a precipitous rock.

We encamped on the 15th of October on the banks of the Twaji rivulet: snow fell during the night. On the following day we ascended and crossed the pass: we reached the verge of the descent without difficulty, but there we found the snow from three to four feet deep, completely concealing the path, which ran along the edge of a cliff, in many places precipitous. We were obliged to unload the horses, and carry their burthens by men over the dangerous parts, an operation which delayed our progress. Below us the valley of Dras was at times concealed from our view by the clouds rolling under our feet, or by the snow storms which they discharged. On my arrival at the first house, called Sugatial, I was informed that Dras had been plundered on the preceding night by the Raja of Hasora, with eight hundred men, of all the cattle and every thing of value. Three hundred men, it was said, occupied the plain where I had pitched my tent in July, and several parties were pointed out to

me. Snow fell in large flakes, and we were surrounded by a number of half-naked and frightened people, who were unable to give us any assistance. As night was coming on, all we could do was to make the best possible arrangements against an attack, and I ordered the Sipahis of my escort to fire several rounds, for the double purpose of intimating our presence, and of getting their pieces in order, should they be required.

On the morning of the 17th we were joined by the Chamal, the principal landholder and receiver of the customs, and a party of people well armed, with whom we descended together to the villages on the left bank of the Dras river. The Hasoras had retired, alarmed at the approach of my party, against whose muskets their matchlocks were of no avail at such a season, when the snow rendered it impossible to keep the matches alight, and further deceived, perhaps, by our apparent strength, for it was ascertained that our march had been descried at a considerable distance; and as we were in all seventy persons, forming with our horses and sheep a long straggling line, we made a more formid-

able appearance amongst the mountains than our real strength would have presented. From whatever motive, however, it was, they withdrew before they had time to carry off the grain, or to finish a game of Polo, for which they had marked out the ground: the cattle and other property they carried off, along with the Karpun of the district. Two men, badly wounded, came to me to be dressed; and in one of the houses was found the body of Mohammed Malik, the younger brother of Rasul Malik, who had been shot in his apartment. Another man who had been killed was a Kashmirian. A party of seven men had been sent to seize or slay the Chamal, and had come to his house for that purpose. Rushing up stairs, but not knowing his person, they asked the first man they found, who was the Chamal himself, where he was; he had presence of mind to direct them to a lower apartment, on which six descended, and finding the Kashmirian, put him to death: the Chamal knocking down the man left to guard him, leapt from the top of the house, and escaped to the mountains. On inquiring into the amount of the plunder,

it appeared that about five hundred horses, eight hundred head of neat cattle, and ten thousand sheep had been driven off, and that most of the domestic utensils, and all the best wearing apparel had been taken away, reducing the villagers from a state of relative affluence to absolute misery.

On the 18th the Karpun returned, to the great joy of the people, with whom he was popular. He had been liberated by order of Sultan Shah, the Hasora chief, upon his disclaiming any knowledge of indignities offered at Dras to Wali Ju, a Kashmirian envoy from Sultan Shah to Lé. In the disputes between Balti and Ladakh, the latter power had intercepted the supply of salt to Balti, and a messenger had been sent from Hasora to represent the inconvenience suffered by that state from this privation, and to pray for its removal. Wali Ju arrived at Dras on this mission. Some time before this, some horses belonging to Rasul Malik had been stolen from Matayan, on the Tibet frontier, and had been traced to the Raja of Hasora, and when the envoy of the latter appeared at Dras, he was threatened with detention until the horses

should be restored. The character of the Raja was also rather uncourteously handled. The Karpun and Chamal declared that Wali Ju had never been in actual durance, and that he laid no claim to the character of an accredited envoy; he appeared as a trader, and was suspected by them as a spy: however this might be, he reported to the Raja that he had been confined, and not allowed to proceed on his journey, and that the functionaries of Dras had used insulting language towards his employer. It was to revenge these indignities that the foray had taken place. Amongst the rest I was a sufferer, for I lost sixty-seven sheep I had formerly purchased, which had been left in the charge of the Chamal. The difficulty of procuring fresh horses and grain, and the alarm and indecision of our carriers, detained us ten days at Dras, during which all the males, with the Karpun at their head, set off for Lé to make their complaints to the Raja. Finding there was no chance of procuring carriage, Mir Izzet Ullah took five horses and made the best of his way to Sona-murg; there he met an agent of the Malik with fifty men and

as many horses, which had been dispatched to meet us, in anticipation of the embarrassments we were likely to experience. They joined us on the 28th of October, and on the following day we resumed our journey.

After crossing a rivulet running into the Dras river on its right bank, our road skirted the latter, proceeding along the Himbab valley: at two miles and a half from the last village, a considerable stream* falls into the Dras river on its left bank: the course of the latter is much broken by rocks, over which it rushed with great rapidity, and the water though clear was of so deep a blue, that it looked as if it held some salt of copper in solution. At about four miles from Dras, in a narrow valley, we passed the small hamlet of Pandras, or Phandas†, the lands of which were mostly in grass. The Prangos had accompanied our march, and at this place its hay was piled up on blocks of stone. A little beyond Pandras

* Mr. Trebeck considered this to be one of the heads of the Dras river; and he understood it to rise about eight miles off. The last, and according to some, the chief village of Dras stood on its left bank, not far from the junction.—Ed.

† Gholam Hyder calls it, and probably correctly, Pain-dras, or lower Dras.—Ed.

the river flowed from the southward, and continued in this direction till we reached Matayan, where we halted.

Matayan was a miserable hamlet of half a dozen mean houses of rubble building, and the inhabitants seemed to be wretchedly poor. The flocks and herds, however, were numerous and in good condition. On the 30th we followed the course of the river, marching occasionally on either bank, until we lost sight of it at the end of a defile, one part of it coming from a recess in the rocks about a mile off to the north of west, and the rest from beneath a bed of snow, along which we passed. About a thousand paces further on, we came to a large stone which marked the boundary of Ladakh, and we thence ascended a steep and rugged acclivity, which led to the summit of a lofty pass. Soon after quitting the source of the Dras river we came to a small rivulet, taking an opposite direction, or south-west. This was soon joined by a large stream from the south, coming from under a bed of snow on the face of the Waga Sugan mountain, the pyramidal peak of which, visible at no great distance on our left, is said to be never free

from snow. The stream then crossed our path, and continued its course between perpendicular rocks on its southern, and a steep ascent on its northern side, forming a ravine which, in the winter months, is entirely blocked up by ice and snow. A rather steep acclivity led up the side of a hill, on turning which to the left, a valley, forming the entrance into Kashmir, came in view, and, as if by magic, presented a striking contrast in its brown mountains and dark forests of tall pines to the bare rocks and few stunted willows, to which we had so long been accustomed. It is this part of the pass to which the name of Zwaje La is applied, and which seems to be the same as the Baltal Kotal of Desideri. It is considered as the principal pass by the Kashmirians, but is less elevated than the one first crossed.

As the ascent from Matayan had been gradual and tolerably easy, we were not prepared for so abrupt a descent as the western face of the pass presented. The path was planned in zigzag, but it was so narrow, steep, and slippery, that we had great difficulty in keeping our footing, and still more in effecting the safe passage

of the horses. The mountains below were clothed to their summits with pines, and generally skirted at the bases with birch-trees. Another large feeder from the south joined the river, which is here called the Kana patri.

Although the sides of the mountains were deep in snow, and such vegetable surface as appeared was brown and withered, yet the air felt mild and even warm, compared with that to which we had been lately exposed. We encamped in a forest, and one very important change occurred in the no longer scanty supply of fuel. We indulged ourselves with such luxurious fires as Tibet had never witnessed. To my great alarm, however, the passage of the sheep over the ghât was delayed till after nightfall, and several men on horseback were sent to their aid. They reached the tents at midnight.

On the 31st we continued our march along the valley, running nearly east and west. It was not above a quarter of a mile broad: on the southern side, the steep acclivities of the mountains were covered with fir-forests; those on the north were less abrupt, but more thinly wooded, the pine evidently affecting a north-

ern aspect. The ground was abundantly carpeted with grass. In a convenient part of the forest, on the plain, were two log-houses, built for the accommodation of travellers. The river ran along our left, and was joined by another considerable stream from the south, coming from the neighbouring mountain. In one place, on its left bank, an extensive tract was covered by the ruins of trees, which had been felled, apparently, by a storm, as they were all lying in one direction, with their tops towards the north. At an early hour we reached the village of Sona-mur-h, said to be so named from the golden bird, or pheasant, found in the vicinity. It consisted of five or six houses on the right bank of the river, which here takes the name of Sindh.

The first appearance of the people of Kashmir was anything but prepossessing. The dress of both men and women consisted of a long loose wrapper and a low woollen cap, both sufficiently dirty. The legs and feet were bare, or wooden clogs were bound to the latter by straps of leather or straw. Poverty and discontent were the prevailing characteristics. The chief article of food was a kind of

greenish-coloured bread made from the tromba, or buck-wheat.

On our advance from Sona-murgh, we were met by letters from the Malik, from Khaja Shah Nyas Khan, and from Surat Sinh, the latter of whom announced himself as deputed by the Subahdar of Kashmir, Dewan Moti Ram, to attend upon, and conduct me to the capital. On the preceding day I had received a letter from Raja Ranjit Sinh, apprising me that at my intercession he had granted Khajah Shah Nyas a pension of five thousand six hundred rupees. This proved to be little better than a nominal allowance; but it showed that I had not incurred the serious displeasure of the Sikh by my interference in the affairs of the Khaja and of Ladakh. For some way beyond Sona-murgh the road was little else than a narrow path along the right bank of the Sindh, which received several small streams on its way. In one place it ran between a narrow gap in the mountain, at a place called Hang, over which we had to proceed by a very difficult and scabrous ascent, obstructed by blocks and fragments of stone, and dangerous from frequent slips.

From hence the road runs through a forest, in which I recognised the walnut, horse-chesnut, sycamore, ash, apricot, and other varieties. On clearing the forest, we came to a cultivated slope with a few houses, called Gagangir, where a thana for the levy of customs had been established, to prevent the smuggling of shawl-wool, which was formerly conveyed across the mountains to the garden of Shahlimar, and thence privily introduced into the city.

We were met at this place by the son of the Malik, a boy of about ten years old, and by a pandit, who offered us a present of money and refreshments on the part of Jawahir Mal. As we advanced the valley expanded, and much land was in cultivation, and many villages appeared; at one of which, named Gondh, the residence of Rasul Malik, we were met by Surat Sinh, and several Sirdars, on horseback, and an escort of light infantry, armed with matchlocks, swords, and shields. He welcomed me on the part of the Dewan, and insisted on my taking one rupee out of a number which he presented. He

was accompanied by the Malik, who seemed much affected at his brother's death. We were conducted to his house, and ushered into a matted apartment with a hearth, on which blazed a cheerful fire of pine-logs. We were regaled with tea, and afterwards with roasted chickens and venison, accompanied with wheaten cakes. We were then again served with buttered and salted tea, and shortly afterwards, in spite of our remonstrances, with pilao. The Malik stated that letters had been received from the Raja of Balti, disavowing all concern in the late inroads from Hasora, and that as soon as the weather permitted a force would proceed from Kashmir to exact retribution from the aggressors.

On the 1st of November we crossed the Sindh, about two miles from Gondh, by a bridge; but we still continued to follow its course to the west. The land was only partially cultivated, and was much intersected with forest, chiefly of fruit-trees, or walnuts, apricots, and apples growing wild. We passed several villages, some of considerable size. Kangan, on the right bank, which was one of

the largest, had a large building, used as a mosque. Along the river we observed planks and timber floating down to the city. We halted at Mamar, a small village about half a mile from the river. From thence, on the following day, we proceeded to Nunar, about eight kos. A pandit, and some other persons, brought a present of fruit from the Dewan.

On the 3rd we quitted the Sindh and its valley, and turning the southern range of mountains, now degenerated to low hills, passed the village and guzar, or custom-house, of Gandarbal, and came in sight of the small lake of Anchal in front of us, and the Kohi maran, the fortress that defends the eastern extremity of the city, situated upon a small hill on our left. At the guzar we met the physician of Omar Khan, about to proceed to Indejan by Balkh and Hissar, and Mir Ali Baksh, a relation of Mir Izzet Ullah. About two miles from the capital, a party of horse, and a detachment of the regiment of infantry disciplined in the European fashion, under the son of Nand Ram, awaited our approach, and escorted us past the remains of the Nazim bagh

into the city. The streets and houses were lined with spectators, and we proceeded through them to a neglected garden, once that of Dilawar Khan, in a building in which some apartments had been prepared for our accommodation. As we advanced Surat Sinh was assailed by many clamorous appeals from the crowd, and hands were stretched out, and cries addressed to us, praying for our interference to save the inhabitants from starvation. An order, it appeared, had recently emanated from Raja Ranjit Sinh, prohibiting the sale of any of this year's crop of rice until a deficit of five lakhs in the revenue of the preceding year had been discharged.

During the first day subsequent to our arrival we were beset by crowds of people, who not only filled the garden, but came in boats along a lake adjoining, on the border of which stood a sort of summer-house, in which I had taken up my quarters. The Hurkaras of the Dewan would have prohibited the people from approaching me, but I desired them to be admitted, hoping that in a few days the public curiosity would be satisfied. This, however, was far from the case, and the mul-

titude rather increased: amongst the crowd were men who had served as sipahis in India, and merchants from Delhi and Benares: the latter, as well as the Banias of Kashmir, tendered their services to advance whatever cash I might require for my bills on Hindustan. There was one man who had been at Calcutta, and not a little mystified his countrymen by stories, for the veracity of which he appealed to me. He had come to Kashmir to purchase shawls, and his remarks on those of English manufacture may be worth recording. At the first glance, he said, they looked like those of Kashmir; but upon inspection were found less soft in texture, and less brilliant in colour; and the weaving of the flowers, when examined on the wrong side, looked more like the disposition of threads left by the needle of the embroiderer, than by the bobbin of the weaver. It was his belief that if a thread or two were unravelled, the whole flower would come out. He was satisfied, he said, that if we had the materials we should have the manufacture, and that it was our own fault if we had not the former.

The Dewan Moti Ram had fixed the second day after my arrival for giving me audience, but indisposition obliged him to defer this for several days longer, and in the mean time a reference to Ranjit Sinh became necessary. The Raja had stated in his instructions to Moti Ram that we purposed staying eight or ten days at Kashmir, a period that by no means suited my convenience. I had left Mr. Trebeck in Ladakh, to wait for a servant who was bringing me a valuable packet of pearls and coral from Delhi, and I could scarcely expect he would join me in less than a month. It also required some time for us to re-establish our marching equipage, exhausted and disfurnished at it was by our long sojourn in Tibet. It was therefore necessary to apply for permission to remain for a further period in Kashmir; and this being readily conceded, we quartered ourselves in Kashmir for the winter months, resuming our movements only in May, 1823.

The garden-house, belonging formerly to a nobleman named Dilawar Khan, situated on the Biari nam bal, a small lake, or rather an

expanse of one of the chief canals of the city, was assigned for our residence, and here, as at Lé, my time was spent in medical practice, collecting information, and occasional excursions.

CHAPTER II

Description of Kashm' —Succession of Valleys and Mountains —Richness of Vegetation —Moisture of Climate—Vitastha or Behut river—Its feeders—Wular lake—Dal lake—Extent of the valley of the Behut—Breadth of Kashmir—Divisions—Situation of city—Canals—Houses—Public Edifices—Great Mosque—Bridges—Population—Distress—Disease—Revenues—Character of the people—Literature—Dress—Food—Agricultural and other products—Grains—Rice—Sinhara, or Water-nut—Lotus-stem—Floating gardens—Fruit—Vines—Walnut-trees—Forest-trees—Animals, &c.—Winter fodder—Cotton—Silk—Costus—Bees—Minerals.

KASHMIR has been often described, but it may be doubted if any of the descriptions yet published have conveyed an accurate notion of the country; and the designation of 'valley,' which is ordinarily applied to it, is by no means an appropriate term. The course of the Vitastha, or Behut, does, indeed, form one principal valley, extending from the eastern to the western limits of the province; but the greater part of the country is made up of a similar disposition of vale and mountain, as is observable in all these alpine regions, and consists of a series of mountain ranges, running mostly in parallel lines from south-west

to north and east, separated by glens, which are in general of no great breadth.

The chief peculiarity by which Kashmir is distinguished from the mountain countries on its confines is the richness of its vegetation. The mountains, although for a considerable part of the year capped in many parts with snow, are coated with rich forests, and at their bases is a productive alluvial soil abounding with verdure, or, where cultivated, with plentiful harvests, especially of rice. The cause of this is, no doubt, to be found in the humidity of its climate, which formed to our feelings a very disagreeable contrast to the dryness of the atmosphere of Ladakh.

The year in Kashmir may be divided into summer and winter seasons, of nearly equal duration, the former being in general somewhat the longest. Snow usually begins to fall in December, and disappears from the warmer valleys in March. In the passes on the frontiers it remains of considerable depth till the middle of April, and lies throughout the year on the crests of some of the loftiest of the chains which surround the province. The total annual quantity is so great, that it bends the branches of the wild apple-trees, on which

it rests for months, into a right angle with their trunks, giving them the appearance of cypresses.

The end of March and beginning of April are distinguished by the popular term of dirty spring, or mud season; and these appellations, in regard to the mire of the surface, and the rapid succession of gusts of wind and hail, with short gleams of sunshine, are well deserved. In April, 1823, there were but four days of sunshine, and the waters of the neighbouring lakes rose three feet, by the accession of large quantities of rain and of melted snow poured into them by mountain-torrents. In May, of the same year, scarcely a day passed without a shower, and dense clouds constantly rested upon the summits of the mountains, exhibiting an atmosphere surcharged with moisture. The remaining summer months are hot, and bring the fruits and grain to rapid maturity. The abundant supply of water from snow and rain is collected into numerous streams and lakes, the overflowing of which, with the evaporation from them, preserve both soil and atmosphere in a humid condition, more propitious to vegetable than to animal life.

The traditions of the country assert, that the whole of Kashmir, intending thereby the principal line of valley, was originally one large lake, and the aspect of the province confirms the truth of the legend, the subsidence of the waters being distinctly defined by horizontal lines on the face of the mountains: it is also not at all unlikely to have been the scene of some great convulsion of nature, as indications of volcanic action are not unfrequent: hot springs are numerous: at particular seasons the ground in various places is sensibly hotter than the atmosphere, and earthquakes are of common occurrence. What the central and more elevated parts of the mountains may consist of, we did not ascertain; but their sides and bases consist of clay, whilst in the valley the soil is a rich vegetable mould, often more or less extensively inundated, from the numerous streams and watercourses by which the surface is traversed. When neglected after cultivation, it throws up a thickly-matted sod of fiorin, or dúb-grass, little mixed with rank herbage, except in the immediate vicinity of unreclaimed forests.

The chief river of Kashmir is the Vitastha, Vehut or Behut, the Hydaspes of the ancients. This rises at an angle of the mountains, chiefly from the springs of Viranag, in the south-east extremity of Kashmir. It is immediately joined by a stream from the south, the Kai-mu river, and another from the north, the river of Brang. This latter rises by two heads in the district of the same name, to the east of Islamabad, at eight kos distance. It again divides into two branches, the more northerly of which is joined by a small stream from Kotonhara, and the more southerly by the stream from Vir Nag: the two main trunks again meet near Islamabad and form the Behut, which, as it proceeds, receives other streams, as the Lambodari or the Lidder from the north-east, on the road to Amara-nath, and the Shupien or Shuingulu river, which is formed by various rivulets from the north of the Pir Panchal mountains. The Sindh, which takes its source from the Zwaje La pass, forms its own valley, and passing round the city falls into the Behut on the northern bank, about seven kos above it, and the Dudh Ganga comes from the south, rising,

it is said, thirty kos off from the Sang-safed, and joins the Behut just above the capital. The Behut passes through the city, receiving waters from its various canals. Besides the Dudh Ganga, it is joined from the south by the Haratirtha river, and then flows through an angle of the Wular lake. It is then joined by the Lalakoal river from the north, after which it proceeds to the pass of Baramula, where it leaves the province. It then turns southward to Muzeffarabad, where it is joined by the Muzeffarabad river, and then proceeds to the Panjab, where it is known as the Jhelum. During the whole of its course in Kashmir it is navigable, although it varies much in its depth. In December, in its course through the city, it was seventy yards broad, from one to two fathoms deep, and ran at the rate of eight hundred yards an hour. In May it rose twenty-five feet, and it was said that it sometimes attained an elevation of thirty.

The Wular, or Ular Lake, is of an elliptical form, and may be nearly forty miles in circumference*: it lies about twelve kos north-

* Baron Hügel says that it extends thirty miles from east to

west of the city. Adjoining to the latter on the east is the Dal, a less extensive piece of water, supplied by some small streams flowing down a confined valley, interposed between the valleys of the Behut and Sindh, and sending off its superfluous waters by different canals, flowing through the city to the Behut. There are several other small lakes within the province, as the Anchar, Manas, and others.

The whole length of the valley of the Behut, constituting the greatest extent of Kashmir from south-east to north-west, may be about fifty miles; the greatest breadth of the valley, immediately to the west of the city, is not above fifteen miles; and in many parts it is much less, or not more than five or six. The whole breadth of Kashmir may be about forty or fifty miles, the greatest portion of which, to the north of the Behut, consists of lofty mountains and narrow valleys, thinly

west, which is much beyond the truth. Forster says the Wuller lake is only seven or eight miles in circumference. According to Abulfazl, the circumference was twenty-eight kos, but of what kind of kos he does not mention, although he probably meant the Ilahi, which would make the extent of the lake about sixty miles. It may, perhaps, have somewhat filled up since his time—Ed.

inhabited. The province is divided into thirty-six perganas, the names of which, with their principal places respectively, are the following:—

On the left bank of the Behut. Pergana.	Town.	*On the right bank.* Pergana.	Town.
1 Bannahal	Shahabad.	1 Brang	Sagam.
2 Deosar	Kolagam.	2 Kotohar	Chatar.
3 Batu	Shupien.	3 Martand	——
4 Suprasaman	——	4 Dakshinpara	Kanyalwan.
5 Adwaind	Mohanpur.	5 Kaharwapara	——
6 Shukaruh	——	6 Islamabad	Islamabad.
7 Mohammedabad	Muhammedabad.	7 Sair-ul Mawaza, upper	Several places.
8 Megam	Muran.	8 Wular	Tral.
9 Yecha	Yechagam.	9 Vehu	Pamper.
10 Dainsok	Wampura.	10 Phak	Panjgam.
11 Manchamun	Suibok.	11 Lar	Lar.
12 Biruă	Wanigam.	12 Atsan	Atsan.
13 Baladak	Khushipur.	13 Sair-ul Mawaza, lower	Safapur and others.
14 Tahirabad	——	14 Kuhiama	Alusa.
15 Parispur	Gondi Khaja Kasim	15 Zein-nagar	——
16 Tilagam	Patan	16 Lolab	Sogam *.
17 Bainjil	Uttamagam		
18 Anderkoth	Sumbhelpur		
19 Krohin	Wagur		
20 Kamraj, including Kahoī, Hamal Machipura, Durbed, and Karnao.			

* Ritter has compiled from various sources a list of thirty-four perganas, the names of several of which agree with those of the text. It is also to be remarked that several names, both of districts and principal villages or towns, occur in the notes of the excursions made in the country by both our travellers, which are not included in the above list.—Ed.

Several of these districts are very small, and few even of their chief places are more than villages. The mountainous tracts have the general name of Narwao, and the valleys Nal or Nala. The principal passes into the country are, to the south the Shupien, leading over the Pir Panchal mountains, and others crossing the mountains of Prunch; on the west that of Baramula; Zwaje La on the east, and the Kamri-bal on the north. The elevation of Zwaje La is nearly twelve thousand feet; that of the valley in general about five thousand*.

The city of Kashmir, or as it was formerly called, Srinagar, lies on either bank of the Behut, extending about four miles: the principal part, the north-west, lies mostly to the north of the river; on the south-east and south of the river is the suburb of Sher Gerh, attached to a fortress of no great strength or extent: at the same end, the eastern extremity of the city, is situated the hill called the Hari-parbat or Kohi-maran, at the southern

* Baron Hügel names twelve passes, five of which are of recent use. *Journ. Geog. Soc.*, vol. vi. p. 347. M. Jacquemont calls the elevation of the city five thousand two hundred and forty-six feet. —ED.

foot of which is the Lake or Dal, and immediately to the south of that rises the eminence called the Takhti Suliman, or Throne of Solomon. The Kohi-maran is surmounted by a long narrow fort, beneath the bastions of which, on the edge of the rock, two or three large guns are mounted, which command the city. It may be doubted if the fortress itself could be furnished with cannon, as it is entirely roofed over, and presents no appearance of embrasures. The slope of the hill is covered with houses.

The Dal or Lake is nearly circular, but the number of floating gardens it contains prevents its outline from being distinctly made out: it may be about nine miles in circumference. It is supplied chiefly by the waters of the valley, to the east of the garden of Shahlimar, the principal part of which flows through the canal of Tej-bal into the lake, and the rest, after supplying the cascades of the garden, also enters the lake. Towards the Hari Parbat the Dal breaks into several small canals, the principal of which is the Raini-war, and which flowing to the west, and receiving several smaller canals, divides above the bridge

of Naupura into two branches; one of these turning more to the south, joins another considerable canal from the lake, and the united stream flows into the Behut, at the water-gate of the city opposite to Sher Gerh. The other branch passes under the bridge, and turning to the north-west, expands into the Beari Nam-bal, on the western edge of which lay the garden of Dilawar Khan, in which we were quartered. From the northern edge of this expanse, the canal now called the Nala Mar proceeds through the town, passing underneath several bridges, and being the most serviceable of any of the canals, although not kept in very good order: it has water sufficient to admit of boats of considerable burden, and grain is brought by this means into the heart of the city. Between the bridges called Saraf-kadal and Kazi-kadal, and on each side of the canal, is the part of the town called Sheikh Mahal, in which are situated the best houses in Kashmir, occupied by merchants and bankers: to the east lies the principal mosque. From hence the canal follows a semicircular course, and issues from the town within a few paces

of the Eid Gah. It then flows to the small lake of Anchar, and again issuing from it, proceeds in a curved direction towards the Behut, which it joins near the debouche of the Sindh.

The Raini-war canal receives at its commencement, where it is called also the water of Khaja-yar-bal, a small supply from the northward. The contents of the canal by which it is brought are furnished by the Sindh, near the village of Kanja; passing over a platform, it skirts the base of the hills past Gandarbal, and sends off a main branch into the city, to fulfil one of the main objects of its construction, the provision of a supply of water to the Jama Masjid, to which it was led in as direct a line as the surface permitted. It is called the Lakhi canal, having cost a lakh of rupees, and was the work of Zein-ul-abaddin. The mosque has been thrice destroyed by fire, and it and the canal were last repaired by Aurangzeb. The latter is now choked, but was open till recently, and supplied several houses close even to the Biari Nambal. Another branch of the canal goes off to the Tej-bal, on the east of the lake, and the rest of its water passes towards the

foot of the old wall of Nagar, where it forms a broad ditch, and then continuing its course along the base of the Kohi Maran on the north-east, unites with the Raini-war, as above noticed. These canals are in general faced with stone, derived frequently from the ruins of Hindu temples, the sculpture on which is turned inwards. They are crossed in various parts by wooden bridges, and upon the whole afford evidence of the munificence and public spirit of the ancient princes of Kashmir. When properly taken care of, and filled with running water, they no doubt contribute to the salubrity, as well as to the cleanliness of the city; but their general condition is now that of decay, and they render the town neither cleanly nor salubrious.

The general character of the city of Kashmir is that of a confused mass of ill-favoured buildings, forming a complicated labyrinth of narrow and dirty lanes, scarcely broad enough for a single cart to pass, badly paved, and having a small gutter in the centre full of filth, banked up on each side by a border of mire. The houses are in general two or three stories high; they are built of unburnt bricks and timber, the former serving for little else

than to fill up the interstices of the latter; they are not plastered, are badly constructed, and are mostly in a neglected and ruinous condition, with broken doors, or no doors at all, with shattered lattices, windows stopped up with boards, paper, or rags, walls out of the perpendicular, and pitched roofs threatening to fall. The roofs are formed of layers of birch bark covered by a coating of earth, in which seeds dropped by birds, or wafted by the wind, have vegetated, and they are constantly overrun with grass, flowers, and seeds. The houses of the better class are commonly detached, and surrounded by a wall and gardens, the latter of which often communicate with a canal: the condition of the gardens is no better than that of the building, and the whole presents a striking picture of wretchedness and decay.

There are no public buildings in the city of Kashmir entitled to notice for their architectural or antiquarian merits. The oldest building is the tomb of the mother of Zein-ul-ab-addin, who reigned in the middle of the fifteenth century, and who is said to have made use of a more ancient Hindu temple for the

purpose. It is an octagonal building of brick, surmounted by a dome of great solidity and strength, the walls being seven or eight feet thick, but of no beauty. The shrine of Sayid Ali Hamadani is constructed chiefly of the wood of the Deodar pine, and is equipped with a pyramidal steeple of timber, capped with brass. The most celebrated structure, however, is the Jama Masjid, or great mosque, which is capable of containing, it is said, sixty thousand persons. After having been four times destroyed by fire, it was last rebuilt in the time of Aurangzeb: it had been shut up at the time of our visit by order of Ranjit Sinh, lest the plea it afforded for the assemblage of large bodies of Mohammedans should afford opportunities of plotting against his rule. The Jama Masjid consists in great part of wood, a dome and spire of timber of rude construction, resting partly upon wooden pillars, and partly on side walls, of which the foundation and lower portion consist of roughly hewn stones, and the upper of brick and mortar. The number of pillars is three hundred and eighty-four; the intervals are usually considerable. The columns are

formed of an assemblage of square blocks of Deodar, about a foot in diameter, laid at right angles to each other, so that each face presents a succession of butts and sides, or to speak more technically, a bond of alternate headers and leaders: the blocks are probably secured together by pins, but those are not seen exteriorly. The columns are in general about ten feet high, but some are taller than others. The peculiarity of their construction was, no doubt, suggested by the occurrence of earthquakes, which are frequent in Kashmir, though not very violent. Certain it is, that although the roof and walls have been rent and shattered in various places, not one of the pillars appears to have been seriously injured, or to have deviated from its original perpendicular. Such also is the durability of the timber of the Deodar, that in none of the columns was any vestige of decay from exposure or insects to be discovered, although they have been erected above a century and a half, and have received for some time past very little care or attention.

The same valuable material is employed in the formation of bridges over the canals and

rivers of the country. Very commonly the breadth of these requires merely a platform resting upon haunches; but in many places it is necessary to support the road-way by piers in the stream. In this case the piers are formed of four pieces of the trunk of the Deodar, laid at right angles over each other, and leaving in the centre a hollow square of about two feet. Each pier consists of a shaft, a basement, and a capital: the shaft is usually from twenty to twenty-five feet in breadth, the height varies with the depth of the stream. The foundation is constructed on the same principle, but extends beyond the shaft, and presents to the current a pointed extremity: it is also filled with heavy stones to prevent its being carried away. The capital consists of five graduated tiers of beams, crossing the water line, and forming the support of the platform, connecting them at top, which is formed of layers of Deodar timbers, crossed and fastened together by pins. This construction is so solid, that upon one of the bridges, the Zein-al-kadal, a line of shops, the best in the city, is situated. The shops are built of wood, each with a work-room and

show-room, and the concourse of buyers is very considerable. Other bridges over the Vitastha, as the Hab-alkadal, Fatteh-kadal, Ali-kadal, and Amir-kadal, the latter close to the fort of Sher Gerh, are all built in the same manner: the foundations and piers of most of them were in a ruinous condition, but less from decay in the timbers, than the action of the current, the displacement of the stones or blocks of wood, and neglect in giving them occasional repair.

The population of the City of Kashmir, although much diminished, must be numerous. One hundred and twenty thousand persons, it is said, are employed in the shawl manufacture alone; and, although this is the chief employment of the population, yet the other trades and occupations, essential to the support of a large city, must, at least, double the amount: the population of the province is estimated at eight hundred thousand*. Everywhere, however, the people are in the most abject condition; exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh government, and subjected to every

* Baron Hügel states it to have declined to one-fourth, or two hundred thousand. *Journ. Geog. Soc.*, vol. vi. p. 348.—Ed.

kind of extortion and oppression by its officers. The consequences of this system are, the gradual depopulation of the country: not more than about one-sixteenth of the cultivable surface is in cultivation, and the inhabitants starving at home, are driven in great numbers to the Plains of Hindustan. In like manner the people of the city are rapidly thinning, though less from emigration, than poverty and disease: the prevalence of the latter in its most aggravated forms was fearfully extensive. I devoted every Friday to the reception of visits from the sick, and a greater number and cases of greater inveteracy crowded round my door than ever presented themselves at the Hotel de Dieu. I had at one time no fewer than six thousand eight hundred patients on my list, a large proportion of whom were suffering from the most loathsome diseases, brought on by scant and unwholesome food, dark, damp, and ill-ventilated lodgings, excessive dirtiness, and gross immorality.

According to the prevailing notions on the subject the whole of the land in Kashmir is considered to have been, time out of mind,

the property of the ruler. Of some portions of the Khalsa lands the sovereigns divested themselves by grants in Jagir for various periods, but when the country came into the hands of the Sikhs, Ranjit Sinh made a general resumption, and ousted the possessors of grants of land of every class, thus summarily reducing thousands who had long lived in comfort to a state of absolute destitution.

The Khalsa lands are now, as heretofore, let out for cultivation. Those near the city are termed Sar-Kishti, those more remote Pai-Kishti; or head and foot, upper and lower cultivation. When the grain has been trodden out, a division takes place between the farmer and the government: this was formerly an equal division, but the government has advanced in its demands until it has appropriated about seven-eighths of the Sar-Kishti, and three-fourths of the Pai-Kishti crop. The straw falls to the share of the cultivator, but his case would be desperate if it were not practicable to bribe the overseer or watchman to let him steal a portion of his own produce. He has also a

house to live in; he can keep his cattle on the mountains during summer, can cut wood and bring it to the city for sale, can sell wild greens and butter-milk, and can support himself and family upon the wild fruits of the forest. Still the cultivators of Kashmir are in a condition of extreme wretchedness, and, as if the disproportionate demand of the government was not sufficiently oppressive, the evil is aggravated by the mode adopted of disposing of the government share. It is sent into the market at a high price, and no individual is allowed to offer the produce of his farm at a lower rate, or sometimes to dispose of it at all, until the public corn has been sold.

A much larger revenue than that which is obtained from the land is realised from the shawl manufacture, every shawl being stamped, and the stamp-duty being twenty-six per cent. upon the estimated value. Besides this a considerable sum is raised by duties upon the import of wool, and a charge upon every shop or workman connected with the manufacture. Nor are these imposts restricted to the artisans employed in the

shawl fabric, every trade is taxed, butchers, bakers, boatmen, venders of fuel, public notaries, scavengers, prostitutes, all pay a sort of corporation tax, and even the Kotwal, or chief officer of justice, pays a large gratuity of thirty thousand rupees a year for his appointment, being left to reimburse himself as he may. A portion of the Sinhara crop, to the extent annually of a lac of rupees it is said, is claimed by the government. The revenue is farmed, and the farmer is independent of the military governor. At the time of our visit the sum paid by the farmer was thirty-eight lakhs of Panjab rupees, equal to twenty-nine lakhs of Sicca rupees, or about two hundred and ninety thousand pounds; but a much larger sum than this was extorted from the people, although it was only to be realised by the greatest rigour and oppression *.

* Late advices from India report the necessary consequences of this system. In 1835 scarcely any revenue could be collected. In 1836 twenty-three lakhs were demanded, but, according to Baron Hügel, it was not likely to be raised. Papers of the beginning of this year state that Ranjit had reduced the demand to eighteen lakhs, but that it was not possible to enforce even this collection.—Ed.

The natives of Kashmir have been always considered as amongst the most lively and ingenious people of Asia, and deservedly so. With a liberal and wise government they might assume an equally high scale as a moral and intellectual people, but at present a more degraded race does not exist. The complexion of the Kashmirians varies from dark to olive, and is sometimes ruddy and transparent: the eyes are large and full, the nose is well defined, and commonly of an aquiline form. The stature varies, but the Hindus who have least intermixed with foreign races are, in general, tall and symmetrically made. The inhabitants of the city are rather slight, but amongst the peasantry, both Hindu and Mohammedan, are to be found figures of robust and muscular make, such as might have served for models of the Farnesan Hercules. In character the Kashmirian is selfish, superstitious, ignorant, supple, intriguing, dishonest, and false: he has great ingenuity as a mechanic, and a decided genius for manufactures and commerce, but his transactions are always conducted in a fraudulent spirit, equalled only

by the effrontery with which he faces detection. The vices of the Kashmirian I cannot help considering, however, as the effects of his political condition, rather than his nature, and conceive that it would not be difficult to transform him into a very different being. Religious bigotry forms no part of his character, and the teachers of either faith, Mullas or Pundits, are exceedingly ignorant, and possess little influence. Since the establishment of the Sikh authority Hinduism predominates, and the country is infested by numerous and audacious bands of mendicants. They are patronized rather by the Government than the people, and the latter would gladly get rid of their presence. There seems, indeed, to be little attachment of either the Mohammedans or Hindus of Kashmir to their respective creeds, and I am convinced there is no part of India where the pure religion of the Gospel might be introduced with a fairer prospect of success.

Literature of any description is almost unknown in Kashmir, and it is not-easy to discover any relics of those celebrated Sanscrit compositions which originated in the

patronage of the princes of the country whilst it was a Hindu principality. Our attention was especially directed to this subject by a communication from the Secretary of the Asiatic Society, who was desirous of procuring copies of the Chronicles of Kashmir, the Raja Tarangini, of a local legend called the Níla Purána, and a collection of tales, entitled the Vrihat Kathá. The most particular inquiry was set on foot for these works, and, after much delay, we heard of two copies of the Chronicles, written on birch-bark, and one of the Vrihat Kathá, on a similar material. They were shown to us, and appeared to be antient. Nothing could induce the owners to part with them, but they had no objection to copies being taken. A copy of the Raja Tarangini was accordingly transcribed during our stay, and one of the Vrihat Kathá was put in hand, under the superintendence of a native friend, who promised to forward it when finished to Calcutta. The Níla Purána was less scarce, and a copy was purchased, and sent down *.

* The copy of the Raja Tarangini is in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to whom it was presented by Mr.

These were the only Sanscrit works of the existence of which we obtained any information.

The dress of the people, both male and female, commonly consists of a long loose wrapper and trowsers, the former of woollen cloth. As a further protection against the cold in winter the Kashmirians usually carry under their tunic an earthen pot with a small quantity of live charcoal, a practice that invariably discolours and sears the skin, and not unfrequently occasions palsy. The Hindu women never go veiled, and never affect concealment, either at home or abroad. They had long been exempted from the cruel obligation of burning with their husbands, the custom of which, according to tradition, was never very popular in Kashmir, having been suppressed by an edict of Aurangzeb in 1669, and never subsequently revived.

Moorcroft. That of the Vrihat Kathá was never received. The Níla Purána was sent to me, and is in my possession, but I doubt its authenticity. The text of the Raja Tarangini has been printed at Calcutta, and an edition, with a translation by Captain Troyer, is about to appear at Paris. An edition of the Vrihat Kathá is also in course of preparation in Germany by Mr. Brockhaus, with either a complete or partial translation.—Ed.

The food of those who can afford it is partly of meat, mutton of goats or sheep, which sells at about threepence per pound. Beef is not procurable, as the Sikh ruler punishes the death of a cow capitally. The chief food of the people is vegetable; turnips, cabbages, and radishes, the Sinhara, or water-nut, and rice. The turnips are purple, or reddish, and speedily become woolly: the radishes are mostly white and strong: the cabbages do not head, but the leaves are frequently stripped. Besides these, lettuces, spinach, and other common vegetables are in extensive use, boiled into a sort of soup, with a little salt, or even the leaves of the dandelion, dock, plantain, and mallow; and the catkins of the walnut are employed as food, seasoned with a little salt, mustard, and walnut oil.

Although wheat, barley, buck-wheat, millet, maize, pulse, and amaranthus are grown in Kashmir, yet the staple of cultivation is rice. This is sown in the beginning of May, and is fit to cut about the end of August. The grain is either sown broadcast in the place where it is intended to

stand till ripe, or thickly in beds, from which it is transplanted when the blade is about a foot high. As soon as the season will admit after the 21st of March, the land is opened by one or more ploughings, according to its strength, and the clods are broken down by blows with wooden mattocks, managed in general by women, with great regularity and address, after which water is let upon the soil, which, for the most part, of a reddish clay, or foxy earth, is converted into a smooth soft mud. The seed grain, put into a sack of woven grass, is submerged in a running stream until it begins to sprout, which happens sooner or later, according to the temperature of the water and of the atmosphere, but ordinarily takes place in three or four days. This precaution is adopted for the purpose of getting the young shoot as quickly as possible out of the way of a small snail, which abounds in some of the watered lands of Kashmir, but sometimes proves insufficient to defend it against the activity of this diminutive enemy. When the farmer suspects, by the scanty appearance of the plants above the water in which

the grain has been sown,.and by the presence of the snail drawn up in the mud, that his hopes of a crop are likely to be disappointed, he repeats the sowing, throwing into the water some fresh leaves of the Prangos, called Krangos, which either poison the snails, or cause them to descend out of the reach of its influence. The seed is, for the most part, thrown broadcast into about four or five inches of water, which depth is endeavoured to be maintained. Difference of practice exists as to watering, but it seems generally agreed that rice can scarcely have too much water, provided it be not submerged except for a few days before it ripens, when a drier state is supposed to hasten and to perfect the maturity, whilst it improves the quality of the grain. In general the culture of rice is little expensive, though more so in Kashmir than in Hindustan, from its being customary in the former country to manure the rice lands, which is never done in the latter. This manure, for the most part, consists of rice straw, rejected by the cattle, and mixed with cowdung. It is conveyed from the home-

stead to the fields by women in small wicker baskets, and is set on the land with more liberality than might have been expected from the distance it is carried. Many of the rice lands are situated much higher than might be thought convenient in Hindustan, and are rather pressed into this species of culture than naturally inviting, but still yield good crops, through the facility with which water is brought upon them from the streams which fall down the face of the neighbouring hills. In common seasons the return of grain is from thirty to forty for one, on an average, besides the straw.

In the time of Zein ul abaddin the annual produce of the rice crop is said to have been seventy-seven lakhs of ass-loads, of which the sovereign received one-half. At present the quantity does not exceed twenty lakhs of loads. The price of rice at the period of our residence was from two rupees and a half to three and a half, or between four and five shillings a load. A kharwar, or ass-load, is not an indefinite term, but a measure of sixteen taraks. This, which is the standard of Kashmir, is equal to six sers, a ser

is equal to twenty pals, and a pal ought to be equal to three Mohammed Shahi rupees, and a third. At this rate the ser should weigh nearly two pounds (the rupee being 173·3 grains). The actual ser, however, is not above one pound avoirdupois, and an ass load is, therefore, about ninety-six pounds. A horse-load consists of twenty-two taraks.

Another principal article of the food of the common people, the Sinhara, or water-nut, grows abundantly in the different lakes in the vicinity of the capital, and especially in the Wular lake, which yields an average return of ninety-six to a hundred and twenty thousand ass-loads a-year. It is fished up from the bottom in small nets, and affords employment to the fishermen for several months. It constitutes the almost only food of at least thirty thousand persons for five months in the year. After being extracted from the shell the nuts are eaten, raw, boiled, roasted, fried, or dressed in various ways, after being reduced to flour. The most common preparation is boiling one ser of the flour with two quarts of water, so as to form a sort

of gruel, which, though insipid, is nutritive. The Sinhara, in the shell, is sold at about a rupee per load.

Another article of food derived from the lakes is the stem of the Nymphæa Lotus. In the autumn, after the plate of the leaf has begun to decay, this has acquired maturity, and, being boiled till tender, furnishes a wholesome and nutritious article, which supports, perhaps, five thousand persons in the city for nearly eight months.

Another, and an important use, made of the abundant water surface of Kashmir, is the formation of floating gardens. Various aquatic plants spring from the bottom of the lakes, as water lilies, confervæ, sedges, reeds, &c., and as the boats which traverse these waters take, generally, the shortest lines they can pursue to the place of their destination, the lakes are, in some parts, cut, as it were, in avenues amongst the plants, which, in shallows, are separated by beds of sedges and of reeds. In the latter places the neighbouring farmer attempts to establish his cucumber and melon floats, by cutting off the roots of the aquatic plants just men-

tioned, about two feet under the water, so that they completely lose all connexion with the bottom of the lake, but retain their former situation in respect to each other. When thus detached from the soil they are pressed into somewhat closer contact, and formed into beds of about two yards in breadth, and of an indefinite length. The heads of the sedges, reeds, and other plants of the float, are now cut off, and laid upon its surface, and covered with a thin coat of mud, which, at first intercepted in its descent, gradually sinks into the mass of matted roots. The bed floats, but is kept in its place by a stake of willow driven through it at each end, which admits of its rising or falling in accommodation to the rise or fall of the water. By means of a long pole thrust amongst the weeds at the bottom of the lake from the side of a boat, and turned round several times in the same direction, a quantity of confervæ and of other plants is torn off from the bottom, and carried in the boat to the platform, where the weeds are twisted into conical mounds about two feet in diameter at their base, and of the same height, terminating at

the top in a hollow, which is filled with fresh soft mud, drawn from the bottom of the lake, to which sometimes wood ashes are added, though much more frequently omitted. The farmer has in preparation a large number of cucumber and melon plants, which have been raised under mats, and of these, when they have four leaves, he places three plants in the basin of every cone or mound, of which a double row runs along the edge of every bed, at about two feet distance from each other. No further care is necessary, except that of collecting the fruit, and the expense of preparing the platforms and cones is confined to the value of the labour, which altogether is trifling, as the work is very soon done. Perhaps a more economical method of raising cucumbers cannot be devised, and though the narrow beds are ordinarily almost in contact by their sides, yet, by their flexible nature, they are so separable that a small boat may be readily pushed between the lines without injuring their structure, and, for the most part, they will bear a man's weight, but, generally, the fruit is picked off from the boat. I traversed a tract of about

fifty acres of these floating gardens of cucumbers and melons, and saw not above half a dozen unhealthy plants; nor have I seen in the cucumber and melon grounds in the vicinity of very populous cities in Europe, or in Asia, so large an expanse of plant in a state equally healthy, though it must be observed, without running into luxuriance of growth. This condition indicated the situation to be congenial to the constitution of the cucumber, of which, however, a more substantial proof was found in the very large number of young fruit set near the crown, which certainly exceeded what I have before witnessed in the usual modes of cultivating this vegetable. It has been noticed that the top of each mound is formed into a cup or hollow, which is surrounded by a circle or belt of weed. This prevents the male dust from being dissipated, and causes the fecundating process to be as complete as can be wished.

Finding that the floating gardens were most heavily taxed, that a very large quantity of cucumbers was daily brought from them into the market, and that these were

readily digested, and, when eaten largely, produced no disease, I was induced to pay the gardens a second visit a little more than a fortnight after the first, and at the end of June. The plants had thrown out vines, but these, though thick and well set with flowers, and with large healthy leaves, had not acquired great length. The fruiting was still confined, in great measure, to the crown, in each of which, notwithstanding the continued cropping, there were generally from one to three fruit, the largest from five to seven inches in length, and from one and a half to two inches in diameter. The number of flowers was great, and young fruit were thickly set. It was observed that the stems of many plants had been newly earthed up by about two handfuls of black mud brought from the bottom of the lake. At this visit I saw not any weakly plant save one, before remarked, and this, greatly recovered, was now full of flower. The general depth of the floating beds, or mats of weeds and of earth, taken together, was about two feet, and I now observed that some of the beds were about seven feet broad. The general

arrangement was a line of cucumber cones, bordering each edge, and one of water, or of musk melons, along the middle.. The melon plants had become strong, and their cones were now wound round with a fresh addition of confervæ and of other weeds, so as to give to each about five feet in diameter.

The gardeners reported the utmost yield to be about twenty-five large fruit from each cone, which seemed to be but a small return in proportion to the large surface of flower, the length of the season of crop, and the rapidity of the growth of the fruit. The season lasts for three months and a half, beginning in June. The fruit is seldom or ever pulled in the small or girkin state, and differs in weight, when of a proper age for the market, from about eight or ten ounces to a pound and a quarter, or a pound and a half. From the first setting of the fruit to the time of pulling, seven or eight days are the ordinary period. Having been much acquainted with the unwillingness of the farmers of the East to make a true report of the produce of their farms, I employed a servant of mine, who lived amongst the water gardeners, to

obtain an accurate account of the yield of a cone. He stated that, in answer to his inquiries, the gardeners acknowledged that thirty full-sized fruit for every plant, or from ninety to one hundred, were the average crop of one cone in the season. In the early part the cucumbers of full size sell at the rate of about three for a piece of coin of about the value of a halfpenny, but as the weather becomes hotter, and the plants get into full bearing, ten, fifteen, and even twenty, are purchaseable for this price. It is calculated that every cone yields a money return of about eighteen pence, or each plant about six tunga of two pice each. Allowing sixpence for labour of every description, and including also the tax, the clear profit is a shilling for every two square yards. The yield of the melon and water-melon is numerically less, but the return of profit is at least equal, in consequence of the fruit being sold at from a halfpenny to twopence each. The seed of the melon is brought annually from Baltistan, or Little Tibet, and the first year yields fruit of from four to nine and ten pounds each in weight; but if the seed of this

melon be re-sown, the produce of the second year exceeds not from two to three pounds. On a more minute inquiry it would seem that the melons are sweet and well flavoured, whilst the water-melons are of the common quality of this fruit. Unless when eaten to great excess the melon produces not any derangement in the intestines, but in the latter instance sometimes causes purging. It is remarked that healthy persons, who live upon this fruit almost wholly during the season, become speedily fat, and the same effect is reported in regard to horses fed upon this fruit at Bokhara. Although water-mint grows spontaneously upon the floats, and the return is so profitable in cucumbers, no other vegetables are raised upon the spaces between the cones.

Thefts of whole floats are sometimes committed by persons joining in two or three boats, to tow them off to distant parts of the lake in the night, and the property thus stolen is difficult to be identified. To prevent such depredation, as well as night robbery of the cones, two persons generally sleep in a boat, which is pushed under the shelter of a roof

of mats. The floating gardens are generally cut off from the body of the lake by a belt of floating reeds, which also serve, in some degree, to protect the cones against the winds. The boatways through the fences are closed by twisted withes of willow twigs, which, passing through the ends of the beds, join them closely together.

Abundance of fruit grows wild in Kashmir, and many thousands of acres, skirting the foot of the hills, are covered with apple and pear trees, and vines in full bearing; they are also cultivated, as are apricots, peaches, cherries, and plums. An article of horticultural cultivation is the walnut, of which there are four varieties; one called khanak, is wild, the other three, termed wantu, dunu, and kaghazi, are cultivated. The forest walnut is diminutive, with a thick shell and scanty kernel. The wantu has a larger nut, but the shell is thick and very hard, and the kernel deficient. The nut of the dunu is somewhat larger still, its shell thick, but in a less degree, and the kernel, large and good, is easily extracted. The kaghazi is so called from its shell being nearly as thin as paper (kághaz),

so that it may be readily broken by the hand; it is the largest of the whole, and its kernel is large and easily extracted. Its superiority is said to be attributable to its having been originally engrafted: however this may be, it is now raised from seed alone, and does not degenerate. The nuts steeped in water for eight days are planted in the beginning of March, and the shoot generally makes its appearance in about forty days. If reared by grafts, the process is performed when the plant is five years old: the head being cut off horizontally, at a convenient height, is partially slit or opened in its circumference, and the scions are inserted into the slits without any binding; but clay mortar, worked up with rice husks, is put round it, and kept from being washed away by being enveloped in broad slips of birch bark.

In Kashmir the walnut tree begins to fruit ordinarily when seven years old, but two or three years more elapse before it is in full bearing. This is conceived to be the case, when on a single tree the averaged annual number of nuts brought to maturity amounts to about twenty-five thousand. It has been

observed, that after a few seasons of full bearing, walnut trees fall off in producing fruit, and run with great luxuriance to leaf and branch. To this latter condition the Kashmiris apply the appellation of *must*, and to remedy it, cut down all the small branches, bringing the tree to the state of a pollard. During the year following shoots and leaves alone are produced, which are succeeded by a crop of fruit, in that ensuing, so abundant, as to compensate for the absence of nuts in the preceding season. The cut ends of the branches swell into knots, or knobs, which are somewhat unsightly, and of which the structure has not been accurately examined.

The walnuts which fall whilst green furnish the material for a colour of this tint, which, however, is not permanent; but the husks of the ripe fruit are sold to the dyers, as a basis for a fixed black. When ripe, the fruit of the wantu walnut is retailed in the city for eating, at the rate of a hundred for two pice, or about a penny; the nuts of the dunu in the same number, for three pice, and of the kaghazi for four pice, or two pence.

The country people break the walnuts at home, and carry the kernel alone to market, where it is sold to oil-pressers, at the average of seven rupees per kharwar, or ass load. Each ass load of kernel yields eight paji of oil, each weighing six ser, or forty-eight sers in the whole. The paji sells from a rupee to a rupee and a half, and the kajji, or oil cake, produced in equal weight, or eight paji, is worth eight anas in spring, or one rupee per kharwar, and double this price in winter, for feeding cows. In the latter season, a kharwar of oil cake is exchanged for the same quantity of coarse rice in the husk, or the price of the latter in the market. About twelve thousand ass loads of walnut kernels are annually appropriated to the oil-press in Kashmir, producing, in the gross return of oil and of oil cake, one hundred and thirteen thousand rupees, independently of the quantity of nuts eaten by man. Walnut oil is preferred to linseed oil for all the uses to which the latter is applied, and in Kashmir, as on the continent of Europe, it is employed in cookery, and also for burning in lamps, neither much clogging the wick, nor yielding

much smoke: it is, however, inferior, both for cooking and for burning to the oil of til (Sesamum). This oil possesses such qualities as fairly entitle it to introduction into Europe, and if divested of its mucilage, it might, perhaps, compete with oil of olives, at least for medicinal purposes, and could be raised in any quantity in the British Indian provinces. It is sufficiently free from smell to admit of being made the medium for extracting the perfume of the jasmin (Yasmin), the tuberose (Zambak), narcissus (Nerghiz), chamomile (Babena), and of the yellow rose (Zeba). The process is managed by adding one weight of flowers to three weights of oil in a bottle, which being corked, is exposed to the rays of the sun for forty days, when the oil is supposed to be sufficiently impregnated for use. Walnut oil is exported to Tibet, and brings a considerable profit. By ancient custom the crop of nuts was equally divided between the Government and the owner of the tree, but at present the former takes three-fourths, leaving but one-fourth to remunerate the farmer; yet under this oppression the cultivation of the walnut is extended, and

Kashmir, in proportion to its surface, produces a much larger quantity of nuts than any portion of Europe.

There are said to be eighteen or twenty varieties of grapes in Kashmir, of which four only are of foreign introduction. These are the Sahibi, of an oblong shape and red colour; the Maska, round, and yellowish-white; the Hoseini, of the same colour, but long; and the Kishmish, yellowish-white or green, round, and seedless: this last is small, but the other three are large, the Sahibi sometimes measuring four inches in its largest circumference: they are all thin-skinned, and grow in considerable bunches; those of the Maska are not unfrequently of the weight of five or six pounds. The Sahibi and Maska are both fine table grapes: wine and raisins might be made from the other two. These sorts are usually cultivated on high horizontal trellises of wood.

The indigenous vines are generally planted at the foot of a poplar, and run up to the height of fifty or sixty feet, bearing abundance of fruit. The grapes are commonly thick-skinned, and rather rough and astrin-

gent, but juicy. They are gathered about October, and are kept through the winter in shallow earthen vessels till the spring, when they are applied to the fabrication of wine, vinegar, and brandy. The making of wine was discountenanced under the Afghan government, but has revived under that of the Sikhs. The manufacture is ill conducted, and the liquor is kept in bottles, which are stopped only with plugs of wood, or twisted bark, or paper. No wonder, therefore, that the beverage is indifferent; but such as it is, it is sufficiently good to show, that with proper treatment and care, the wines of Kashmir might be made to rival many of those of Europe.

The Sanjit, which has been noticed as growing in Ladakh, is still more plentiful in Kashmir. The tree has a beautiful appearance; its flowers are exquisitely sweet, and its fruit by distillation yields a beverage which the Chinese hold to be not inferior to that of the grape. The horse-chesnut is wild in the forests, and has not been reclaimed. The hazel is abundant, but it is so luxuriant in the production of wood and leaf, that the

nuts, scarcely of the size of peas, do not come to perfection. The alder is of rapid growth, and the shoots, when the head happens to be destroyed, are straight, tall, and free from knots. The most valuable tree of Kashmir is, however, the Deodar, a variety of cedar, the timber of which is extensively employed in the construction of houses, temples, and bridges: pieces of it from the Zein-ul-kadal bridge were found little decayed, although exposed to the action of water for four hundred years.

The crocus of Kashmir has long been celebrated for the excellence of its saffron. It produces freely the third year after being planted: the greater part is exported to Hindustan. Amongst other useful plants occur the Alisma plantago, and the Carthamus tinctorius.

The animals and birds of Kashmir are much the same as those of Hindustan. The horses are small and indifferent; sheep are plentiful, and the mutton is well flavoured; the fat is particularly white. Whether this is owing to any peculiarity in their feed, I shall not undertake to determine: but

although it would be very possible to prepare an ample sufficiency of hay for winter fodder, the preference is given to the leaves of certain trees,—as the walnut, willow, mulberry, elm, and several others, which are considered much more warming and nutritious than hay, especially for sheep. Small branches after having been cut when in full leaf are immediately so disposed within the first forks of the tree to which they belong, as to be thereby retained; and although loosely piled, yet in consequence of being entangled amongst themselves, are not detached by the wind; neither do they lose their leaves, nor are the latter in any respect injured. This forage is reserved for the severe part of the winter, when the cattle are driven under the trees in which the store is suspended, and the dry branches being pulled down, the leaves are eaten by them with great avidity.

When grass is stored for winter fodder, it is twisted into thick ropes immediately after having been cut, and in this state hung across the upper branches of trees, without other preparation, for hay; it thus keeps free from rottenness, and generally even from mouldi-

ness, notwithstanding the great quantity of rain and snow that falls. Grass thus dried is generally given to the cattle in the morning, and leaves in the afternoon and evening: oil cake made of linseed, walnut kernels, mustard seed, along with the seed of cotton, are given to fatten cattle, as are flags or the leaves of sedge. The prangos, which likewise grows in Kashmir, is also largely used as winter fodder.

The cotton plant grows in Kashmir in every variety of situation: it is seldom much above two feet high, and if taller, is said to yield an inferior article. It is sown in May, and the cotton is gathered in September and October. The cloths made from it are in general coarse and flimsy; but one kind, called kadak, is of a texture particularly close, though not fine, and of exceeding durability. The manufacture of cotton cloths, however, is not very extensively prosecuted in Kashmir, and the cultivation of the plant is consequently not much attended to. An attempt was made to introduce the nankin or brown cotton from Yarkand into Kashmir, but it was said that although the first growth was of as deep a

tint as that of the Yarkand plant, yet the produce of the third sowing was white.

It was mentioned that silk was extensively raised in Khoten, and it appears that it extends from thence through Yarkand and Balti to Kashmir. In this latter country the fabric languishes, and the quantity produced is insufficient for domestic consumption. It might with due encouragement be carried to any extent.

About a thousand ass loads of the root of the kuth, or costus, collected in the mountains of Kashmir, are annually exported to Amritser, whence the drug is sent to Calcutta for export to China. For what purpose the Chinese use it is not known; but in the north of Hindustan it is celebrated as a vermifuge, being administered to children in an infusion of the powdered root: it is also used as a topical application in chronic rheumatism.

An interesting subject in the rural economy of Kashmir is the management of Bees.

Every farmer in the district of Lar, and I have since found the practice general throughout the whole country, in the eastern part of Kashmir, has several hives in his house, and

in some houses I have counted as many as ten.

A provision for hives is made in building the house, by leaving appropriate cavities in the walls. These somewhat differ in size, but agree in their general form, each being cylindrical, and extending quite through the wall. This tube is lined by a plastering of clay-mortar, about an inch in thickness, and the mortar is worked up with the chaff or husk of rice, or with the down of thistles, which latter is employed also for clay-mortar in general, being the first application of this substance to the use of man I have yet witnessed.

The dimensions of a hive are, on an average, about fourteen inches in diameter, and, when closed at both ends, about twenty or twenty-two inches in length. The walls of farm-houses and cottages differ in respect to their materials, but are commonly constructed of rough stones, or bricks, and of clay or lime-mortar along with a large admixture of wood, in the district just mentioned. That end of the cylinder nearest to the apartment is closed by a round platter of red pottery ware, a little

convex in the middle, but the edges are made flush with the wall by a luting of clay-mortar, and the other extremity is shut by a similar dish, having a circular hole, about a third of an inch in diameter, in its centre.

It does not appear that there is any particular rule for the height of the hives from the ground, they sometimes being confined to the walls of the lower or basement story, generally appropriated to cattle in the farm-houses of Kashmir, at others are inserted into those of the first-floor, but are frequently seen in both situations in the same house, as well as in the walls of its out-buildings. So little of difference exists betwixt the practices ordinarily pursued in Kashmir and in Europe, in respect to hiving new swarms, as not to call for notice; but that adopted in the former country, for preserving the old swarm when the honey is taken, well deserves imitation by the bee-farmer in the latter country. The process by which this is, as I witnessed it, effected, is the following:—Having in readiness a wisp of dry rice-straw, and a small quantity of burning charcoal in an earthen dish, the master of the house, with a few

strokes of the point of a short sickle, disengages the inner platter of the tube, bringing into view the combs suspended from the roof of the hive, and almost wholly covered with bees, none of which, however, offer to resent the aggression, or to enter the room. Having placed the straw upon the charcoal, and holding the dish close to the mouth of the hive, he blew the smoke strongly against the combs, but removed the straw the instant it took fire, to prevent it burning the bees, and quenched the flame before he employed it again.

Almost stifled by the smoke, the bees hurried through the outer door with such rapidity that the hive was cleared of its inhabitants within a few minutes, when the farmer introducing the sickle, cut down the combs nearest to him, which were received into a dish previously slidden underneath them, and left undisturbed about one-third of the combs, which were almost close to the outer door. He then replaced the inner platter, and brushing off hastily a few bees which clung to the combs, though apparently in a state of stupefaction, threw them out of the house. Observing many other bees lying motionless on the floor of the hive,

I inquired whether they were dead, or only stupified, and was answered, that they would recover: however, I was not wholly satisfied that this recovery would take place; but preparations for continuing my journey at a very early hour on the following morning unluckily prevented me from ascertaining the fact.

But neither the fate of these, nor of those left senseless in the hive, excited any interest in the owner, as enough remained to carry on the business of the hive, into which the expelled bees returned as soon as its cavity was freed from smoke, without stinging a single individual. The whole business was completed within ten minutes, and it was asserted that not above one-hundredth part of the community is destroyed by this method. The farmers here are well acquainted with the existence of the queen bee; but give themselves little trouble about the internal economy of the hive. Accounts differed as to the weight of the annual yield of a hive, and to the relative proportions of honey and of wax, and that now taken afforded no evidence on these points, as its combs had been removed,

in part only, two months before. Altogether, however, it seemed to me probable that the produce was less than the ordinary yield of a good swarm in England, making allowance also for the portion left for the winter support of the bees. The honey was light-coloured, and of a taste as pure and as sweet as that of Narbonne. It possessed less of the cloying quality generally attending this substance than any other I recollect to have met with, and I could not learn that the farmers had any suspicion of their honey ever being intoxicating or poisonous, as has been noticed as the case occasionally with that made by the Bhoura of Garwahl. I was directed more particularly to inquiry upon this subject by having observed monk's-hood in flower in the valley of Ranga, a few miles to the eastward of the bee-district, and think it probable that it extends to these mountains. Perhaps, however, the range of the flight of the domesticated bee, through the abundance of food, may be limited to the cultivated surface immediately in the vicinity of the house; whereas the Bhoura is compelled to take a more extensive range, and in the scarcity of food,

during the short summer, to be less select in regard to its quality. The peasantry of Kashmir are unacquainted with the employment of honey as the basis of a fermented liquor, but eat it raw, or mixed with various articles of common food, whilst the most wealthy substitute it for sugar in preserving fruits. It is customary to take the hive every year, and the end of September, or beginning of October, is found the best season for this operation, a little time still remaining for the bees to add to the portion left for their support during five months. This amounts to about a third of the whole produce, and would appear to suffice, as swarms seldom die, and the Kashmirians substitute no other material as food. It is stated that an old swarm yields more honey than a young one, and that families seldom die except of old age. I was informed, that it was no uncommon circumstance to preserve the same community for ten, or even for fifteen years; and some instances were quoted of a family having been retained for twenty years; but this was held to be of very rare occurrence.

In consequence of the bees being thus literally domiciliated, they acquire a mildness of conduct far more decided than those of Europe, by which the lives of many of these insects are saved annually; and the confidence gained subduing their natural irascibility, may generate an increase of industry, or at least an increase of produce, in relation to the number, and to the size of the individuals of each community. And it is clear that the situation of the hive keeps many of the natural enemies of the bee at a distance. The bee of Kashmir is a little smaller than that of Europe, though a little larger than the domesticated bee of Kamaon and of Garwhal. Honey sells at about threepence British a pound, but wax is considerably dearer.

The mineral productions of Kashmir have been too little investigated to admit of very exact specification. Iron is found in considerable quantity; but that used for the fabric of gun-barrels is said to be imported from the Panjab—a circumstance rather questionable. Copper-mines are said to exist, but their existence is kept secret, lest they should become

to the government an additional subject of exaction: the copper used is British or Russian, imported from Lahore or Yarkand. No lead-mines are worked, if they exist. Sulphur is an article of import from the Panjab.

CHAPTER III

Arts and Manufactures of Kashmir—Shawl Manufacture—Wool —Carriage—Mode of Sale—Prices of Wool—Sorting—Cleaning—Phiri, or Seconds Wool—Spinning—Yarn—Prices—Assortment according to Pattern—Dyeing—Apportioning—Dressing—Silk used for Borders—Drawing—Weaving—Rates of Work—Loom—Pattern—Needles—Shawl-Cloth—Cleaning Shawls—Darning—Stamping—Valuation—Washing—Drying —Packing—Articles of Shawl-Stuff—Worked Shawls—List of Articles and Prices—Total annual Value of Manufacture—Gun-barrels—Yerak Leather—Pen-cases—Paintings—Paper.

The manufacture for which Kashmir is celebrated throughout the world, is that of the light, warm, and elegant article of dress which, from its native appellation, is known as shawl. Conceiving that it would be possible for Great Britain to partake more largely in the trade in shawl-goods, a very valuable portion of which is carried on through Bokhara and Yarkand with Russia, or even that it would be practicable to introduce the manufacture

itself into my native country, I devoted much of my time and thoughts, whilst in Kashmir, to the acquisition of authentic information on every detail connected with the subject*. The chief results of my inquiries I shall proceed to describe.

The wool that is employed in this manufacture is of two kinds—the fleece of the domestic goat, called Pashm Shal (or shawl-wool), and that of the wild goat, wild sheep, and other animals named Asali Tus. The wool of sheep is not regularly, but is sometimes clandestinely imported, being loaded with the same heavy duties as that of the goat.

The quantity of shawl-wool annually imported varies between five hundred and one thousand horse-loads, each of which is equal to nearly 300 lbs.: the whole quantity of the

* The creation of the manufacture of British shawls is no doubt to be ascribed, in a great degree, if not solely, to Mr. Moorcroft. From the period of his first journey to the Hiundes he was at great pains in sending home the shawl-wool, and in his present journey he sent to England patterns of shawls, and information regarding their manufacture, which, though addressed mostly to his private friends, found their way silently to persons engaged in similar manufactures, and enabled them to imitate successfully the shawls of Kashmir.—ED.

Asali Tus does not exceed 1200 lbs. The wool was formerly supplied almost exclusively by the western provinces of Lassa and by Ladakh; but of late considerable quantities have been procured from the neighbourhood of Yarkand, from Khoten, and the families of the Great Kirghis horde. It is brought chiefly by Mogol merchants, who exchange it for manufactured shawl-goods in Kashmir, which they dispose of advantageously in Russia.

The expense of transport from Lé to Kashmir is, per horse-load, thirty-three rupees; the duties collected at various places, both in Ladakh and Kashmir, amount to ninety-five rupees. A deduction is made for the admixture of dark-coloured wool, which every load contains usually in the proportion of one-third, although the custom-house calculation is but one-fifth. Dark wool pays about half the duty charged on white wool. Asali Tus pays double.

In the first disposal of the article the parties engaged are the Bakál, or merchant importer, the Pashm farosh, or wool-retailer, and a Mokim, or broker. In Kashmir all commercial contracts of importance are discussed at din-

ner, and accordingly, when the merchant receives a cargo of wool, he invites a retail dealer and his broker to a feast. The latter mediates between the parties, and receives a commission of three anas per tarak. From each horse-load of the wool three and three-quarter sers are deducted for the weight of the bales, &c. Payment is immediate, or at one or two months' credit, according to the state of the market, but in no case is it delayed beyond that term. At the time of payment the purchaser withholds two anas per tarak, as a fund for an entertainment to be given to the merchant, and for gratuities to his servants.

The price of shawl-wool has for some time past been upon the advance: the following were the average prices at different periods:

1794 to 1807,	per Tarak,	8 Kashmir Rupees.
1807 „ 1813,	„	16 to 20 „
1813 „ 1817,	„	22 „
1817	„	25 „

It had latterly been as high as forty rupees per tarak, owing partly to the ravages made by an epidemic disease amongst the cattle, and partly to the new demand arising for wool from the British possessions in India.

This enhanced price, however, can be but of temporary duration, new sources of supply being opened, the consumption of the raw material diminishing under the exactions of the Sikh government, and the value of the manufactured article in foreign markets declining.

The price of dark-coloured wool is about one-third, or a half less than that of white wool.

The wool exposed for retail by the purchaser is bought by women for the purpose of spinning it into yarn. A pal of white wool sells for six tangas, or about as many pence. The profit of the retailer is about twelve per cent.

The first task of the spinner is to separate the different materials of which the fleece consists, usually in about the following proportions:—

Coarse Hair . .	1½ Sers.
Seconds, or Phiri . .	0⅜
Dust and Foreign Substances	2⅛
Fine Wool . .	2
	6 Sers, or 1 Tarak.

Much attention is required to free the wool from the hair, and the process is a tedious one.

The next step is cleaning and separating

the wool. A quantity of husked rice is steeped in clean cold water, for a day and a night, or longer, until it becomes soft, when it is ground or bruised upon a stone slab to fine flour. Thin layers of this and of the picked wool are laid alternately, and squeezed with the hand until they are completely intermixed. A little water may be occasionally sprinkled over the heap, if the weather is hot and dry, else it is not necessary. Soap is never used, as it makes the wool harsh; and its employment in Hindustan being communicated to the Kashmirians, induced them to boast that in this matter, at least, they were more knowing than Europeans. After being thus treated for about an hour, the flour is shaken out, the wool opened and torn to pieces, chiefly by the nails, and made into somewhat square, thin, elastic pads, called Tumbu. In this process the Phiri, or seconds-wool, is extricated. Though too coarse for fine shawls, it is used in the manufacture of those of inferior quality, and of a strong shawl-cloth called *Patu*. The tumbu is then worked out into a thin flat roving, about half a yard long, which is called a Málá. The málá is folded up to the

size of the tumbu, and deposited in a deep pot of red earthenware, called a Taskas, to be out of the way of dust or accident, till required for the spinning-wheel.

The wheel is constructed on the same principle as that used in Hindustan, but varying in neatness of form and finish, according to its price; the rudest, the Takhtidar, or Pachimdar, costs a half-rupee, the Katzker, which is the most serviceable, three or four rupees, and the Pakhchedar, which is used by those who spin for amusement only, costs from six to sixteen rupees. The iron spindle is enclosed in a cylindrical tube of straw or reed-grass, and runs through two elastic twists of grass, and instead of one line of radii or spokes, supporting a continued circular wooden rim, there are two circular and parallel walls of flat spokes in contact at their edges, leaving between them, at their outer circumference, an empty space. A hair cord, fastened to the loose end of one of the spokes, is carried across the space or trough, to the end of the next spoke but one on the opposite side, and having been passed round, it returns to a spoke on the side from which it began. By a

continuation of this process a rim is formed of a surface of hair-cord, over which runs a small band that is said seldom to be cut by the friction to which it is exposed. The principle kept in view by this arrangement of spindle and of rim, is to produce a continuance of soft elastic movements without jerk or stiffness, to prevent the yarn breaking on the occurrence of any slight interruption in drawing it out.

Women begin to work at daybreak, continue with little interruption the whole day, if not taken off by other domestic affairs, and extend their labour until very late in the night, spinning by moonlight, when available, and when they cannot afford to purchase oil for a lamp. The fine wool is spun commonly into about seven hundred gaz, each gaz consisting of sixteen girahs, about equal to nails. This yarn is doubled and formed into twist, which is cut into two hundred lengths, each length of three gaz and a half, this measure being suited to the length of the warp for a shawl. From the phiri, or seconds-wool, about one hundred gaz of yarn are also pro-

duced. The yarn of the fine wool is sold sometimes by measure and sometimes by weight. A hundred lengths of yarn of fine wool doubled, and each three gaz and a half, bring ordinarily seven tangas, or about sevenpence. But if the same kind of yarn be sold without being doubled and twisted, the price is regulated by weight, a pal bringing from twelve anas to one rupee four anas, according to the demands of the market. The yarn from phiri, or seconds-wool, is sold only by measure, but the gaz employed consists of no more than twelve girah, or nails, that is, of four girahs less than the gaz in ordinary use. A hundred yards of phiri twist, and each of two short gaz, or of twenty-four girah, sell for one and a half tanga three pice, or about three-halfpence. Although calculations upon this matter can be little more than approximations, yet threepence or threepence-halfpenny a day, or from three rupees to three rupees eight anas, or from six to seven shillings a month, may be taken as the *general* earnings of an industrious and expert spinner in Kashmir, out of which, however, must be subtracted

the price of the wool *, leaving only one rupee eight anas for her labour.

If shawl-wool be furnished to a spinner to clean and to spin, eight anas are paid for spinning one pal, or three and one-third rupees' weight of yarn of the requisite quality for shawls. Sheep's wool, spun by contract, is paid for by the pao, or quarter of a ser, at the rate of from two tangas, or four pice, to twelve anas per pao, according to the fineness of the yarn; and the spinning of this quantity into yarn suited for shawls will occupy a woman for eight days. There are several varieties of thread, distinguished by different degrees of fineness. From one pal of clean fine shawl-wool a spinner will draw from a hundred to a thousand threads of three and a half gaz each. There is not such a difference between the price of coarse and of fine yarn as might be expected, owing to the greater expenditure on the former of a material that is dear, and on the latter, of labour that is cheap. Shawl-wool is sometimes spun by men with a loose spindle like that used in Ladakh. These men are called Trakhans, and the yarn thus

* Thirty-two Tangas or Anas equal two Rupees.

spun is the finest; but very little of it is now made. Girls begin to spin at the age of ten, and a hundred thousand females are employed in this occupation in Kashmir. About one-tenth of this number are supposed to spin for the purpose of obtaining shawls for themselves, or for other members of their families, and nine-tenths to earn their livelihood.

The Puimangu keeps a shop for the purchase of yarn, but also sends people to collect it from the houses of the spinners, who give notice of their approach by ringing a bell. The yarn is sold to the weavers at a profit of from one pice to a tanga in the rupee. As a large stamp-duty is levied on shawl-goods when finished, the exportation of the yarn is forbidden, and the prohibition is enforced by heavy fine and imprisonment. Much of it is, nevertheless, exported to those places in the Panjab where the expatriated weavers have settled.

Having ascertained the kind of pattern most likely to suit the market, the weaver applies to persons whose business it is to apportion the yarn according to the colours required; and when this is settled, he takes it to ano-

ther, whose function it is to divide the yarn into skeins accordingly, and each skein is delivered to the rang rez, or dyer. When the body of the cloth is to be left plain, the phiri, or seconds-yarn, is alone given to be dyed. This is generally about the thickness of common cotton sewing-thread, is loosely twisted, of a coarser quality than the yarn used for the cloth, and is preferred for employment in flowers, or other ornaments, from its standing higher, and being, as it were, embossed upon the ground.

The dyer prepares the yarn by steeping in clean cold water. He professes to be able to give it sixty-four tints, most of which are permanent. Each has a separate denomination; as for instance, the crimson is termed Gulanar (pomegranate-flower); the best kind is derived from cochineal, imported from Hindustan; inferior tints are from Lacand Kirmis (Chermes), distinguished as Kirmisi, Kirmdana, and Kirmisi lac, or cochineal and lac chermes; logwood is used for other red dyes; blues and greens are dyed with indigo, or colouring matter extracted by boiling from European broad-cloth. Logwood is imported

from Multan, and indigo from India. Carthamus and saffron, growing in the province, furnish means of various tints of orange, yellow, &c. The occupation of a dyer is invariably hereditary. The whiter and finer the fibre of the wool, and the finer the yarn into which it is made, the more capable it is said to be of receiving a brilliant dye; and this is one reason why the fine white wool of the goat is preferred to that of the sheep.

The Nakatu adjusts the yarn for the warp and for the weft. That intended for the former is double, and is cut into lengths of three gaz and a half, anything short of that measure being considered fraudulent. The number of these lengths varies from two thousand to three thousand, according to the closeness or openness of texture proposed, and the fineness or coarseness of the yarn.

The weft is made of yarn which is single, but a little thicker than the double yarn or twist of the warp. The weight of the weft is estimated at a half more than that of the warp. The nakatu receives the yarn in hanks, but returns it in balls: he can prepare in one day the warp and weft for two shawls.

The Pennakam guru, or warp-dresser, takes from the weaver the yarn which has been cut and reeled, and stretching the lengths by means of sticks into a band, of which the threads are slightly separate, dresses the whole by dipping it into thick-boiled rice-water. After this the skein is slightly squeezed, and again stretched into a band, which is brushed and suffered to dry: by this process each length becomes stiffened, and set apart from the rest.

Silk is generally used for the warp on the border of the shawl, and has the advantage of showing the darker colours of the dyed wool more prominently than a warp of yarn, as well as hardening and strengthening, and giving more body to the edge of the cloth. When the border is very narrow it is woven with the body of the shawl; but when broader, it is worked on a different loom, and afterwards sewn on the edge of the shawl by the rafugar, or fine-drawer, with such nicety, that the union can scarcely be detected. The silk is twisted for the border warp by the tabgar. The warp differs in breadth, the narrowest consisting of twenty, and the

broadest of a hundred threads. From the tabgar the silk is handed to the alakaband, who reels it, and cuts it into the proper lengths.

The operation of drawing, or of passing the yarns of the warp through the heddles, is performed precisely in the same way as in Europe, and the warp is then taken by the shal-baf, or weaver, to the loom. The weavers are all males, commencing to learn the art at the age of ten years. In all transactions there are two parties, the master, or ustád, and the scholar, or shahgird, the former being the capitalist, the latter the mechanic. Work is executed under four different conditions. First, for wages, when it almost always happens that a system of advances has occurred, by which the workman is so deeply indebted to his employer that he may, in some sort, be considered as his bond-slave. Secondly, upon contract, of which the common term is, that one pice is paid for every hundred needles carrying coloured yarn that shall have been each once passed round as many yarns of the warp. Third, a sort of partnership, in which the ustád finds

all the materials, and the workmen give their labour. When a shawl is sold the outlay of the ustád is deducted from the price, and the remainder is divided into five shares, of which one goes to the master, and the other four to the workmen. The fourth mode is an equal division of the proceeds; in which case the master not only finds the materials, but feeds the workmen. Three men are employed upon an embroidered shawl of an ordinary pattern for three months, but a very rich pair will occupy a shop for eighteen months.

The loom differs not in principle from that of Europe, but is of inferior workmanship. An ustád has from three to three hundred in his establishment, and they are generally crowded together in long low apartments. When the warp is fixed in the loom the nakash, or pattern-drawer, and the tarah-guru, and talim-guru, or persons who determine the proportion of yarn of different colours to be employed, are again consulted. The first brings the drawing of the pattern in black and white. The tarah-guru, having well considered it, points out

the disposition of the colours, beginning at the foot of the pattern, and calling out the colour, the number of threads to which it is to extend, that by which it is to be followed, and so on in succession, until the whole pattern has been described. From his dictation the talim-guru writes down the particulars in a kind of character or short-hand, and delivers a copy of the document to the weavers.

The workmen prepare the tujis, or needles, by arming each with coloured yarn of the weight of about four grains. These needles, without eyes, are made of light, smooth wood, and have both their sharp ends slightly charred, to prevent their becoming rough or jagged through working. Under the superintendence of the tarah-guru, the weavers knot the yarn of the tuji to the warp. The face, or right side of the cloth, is placed next to the ground, the work being carried on at the back or reverse, on which hang the needles in a row, and differing in number from four hundred to fifteen hundred, according to the lightness or heaviness of the embroidery. As soon as the ustád is

satisfied that the work of one line or woof is completed, the comb is brought down upon it with a vigour and repetition, apparently very disproportionate to the delicacy of the materials.

The cloth of shawls, generally, is of two kinds, one plain, or of two threads, one twilled, or of four. The former was, in past times, wrought to a great degree of fineness, but it has been, of late, less in demand. The various twilled cloths are usually from five to twelve girehs, or nails, wide. Shawls are twilled, and are commonly about twenty-four nails broad, and differ in their extent of field. Two persons are employed in weaving a cloth of this breadth. One throws the shuttle from the edge as far as he can across the warp, which is usually about half way. It is there seized by the second weaver, who throws it onwards to the opposite edge, and then returns it to his companion, who, in his turn, introducing his fingers into the warp, forwards the shuttle to the edge whence it started, and then recommences the operation. The cloth thus made is frequently irregular, the threads of some parts of the woof being

driven up tightly, and in others left open, from which results a succession of bands, sufficiently distinguishable whilst without colour, but still more obvious when dyed. The open texture is, in a degree, remediable by the introduction of fresh threads; but there is no sufficient cure for that which has been much compacted. One might be led to suspect that there existed some radical defectiveness in the principle of this mode of weaving not readily mastered, were not pieces of cloth found occasionally of an almost perfect regularity of texture. But the greatest irregularity is discoverable in those shawls which have the deepest and heaviest borders, and a further examination compels me to retract an observation somewhere made of the artist being so much engrossed by attention to the work of the pattern as to neglect the structure of the field. The edge of the warp in the loom is filled with the heavy thread of the phiri, or seconds-yarn, charged also with colour, so that in a few lines the front of the worked part advances beyond that of the plain part or field, and an endeavour to equalize this be-

trays the weaver into a work which proves fruitless; and, in general, the heavier the embroidery on the border, and, of course, the higher the price of the shawl, the less regular is the structure of the cloth. Such, indeed, in some instances, is the degradation of the cloth in the field, as to induce some foreign merchants to cause it to be removed, and another piece to be engrafted within the edge of the border. But in this case there is no other remedy than in a judicious selection of a sheet of the same breadth and fineness; for, although two breadths of the narrow cloth might fit the vacant space, yet these must be joined by the rafugar in the middle; and although this can be so done that the band differs not in thickness from the rest of the cloth, yet the joint is discernible when held between the eye and the light, from the threads in the joined breadth being not continuous in the same line; whereas any irregularity of this nature is drowned in the edge of the border. The best practice to ensure a good field seems to consist in weaving the border, in every case, separately, and inserting the field by the rafugar.

When finished, the shawls are submitted to the purusgar, or cleaner, whose business it is to free the shawl from discoloured hairs or yarn, and from ends or knots: he either pulls them out severally with a pair of tweezers, or shaves the reverse face of the cloth with a sharp knife: any defects arising from either operation are immediately repaired by the rafugar. At this stage of the manufacture the shawls are sent to the collector of the stamp-duties, by whom an ad valorem duty of twenty-six per cent. is levied, and each piece is then stamped and registered.

The goods are now handed over to the wa-farosh, or person who has advanced money on them to the manufacturer, and to the moh-kim, or broker, and these two settle the price, and effect the sale to the merchant; the former charges interest on his advances, the latter a commission, varying from two to five per cent. The purchaser takes the goods unwashed, and often in pieces, and the fine-drawer and washerman have still to do their part.

When partly washed the dhobi brings the shawls to the merchant, that they may be ex-

amined for any holes or imperfections: should such occur, they are remedied at the expense of the seller: if there are none, the washing is completed. This is done with clear cold water, using soap very cautiously to white parts alone, and never to embroidery: coloured shawls are dried in the shade; white ones are bleached in the open air, and their colour is improved by exposure to fumes of sulphur. After being washed, the shawls are stretched in a manner which answers in some degree to calendering: a wooden cylinder in two parts is employed for this purpose, round which the shawl, folded so as not to be quite as broad as the cylinder is long, is carefully wrapped, being occasionally damped to make it fold tighter; the end is sewn down: two wedges are then gradually driven between the two parts of the cylinder at the open extremities, so as to force them asunder, and the surrounding folds of the shawl are thus stretched to as great an extent as is consistent with its texture. The piece remains in this state for two days, when it is removed to be packed. The packages are of various dimensions, but they are formed on one prin-

ciple: the shawls are separated by sheets of smooth, glazed, and coloured paper, and they are placed between two smooth planks of wood, with exterior transverse bars, which projecting beyond the planks, offer a purchase for cords to tie them together: the whole is then placed in a press, or under heavy weights for some days, when the planks are withdrawn, and the bale is sewed up in strong cloth: over this a cover of tús, or of birch bark is laid, and an envelope of wax-cloth is added, and the whole is sewed up as smoothly and lightly as possible in a raw hide, which contracting in drying, gives to the contents of the package a remarkable degree of compactness and protection.

An immense variety of articles of shawl stuff are manufactured in Kashmir, besides the shawls themselves: of them also there are two chief varieties, those made in the manner described, and the worked shawl (doshali amli), in which the whole of the embroidery is worked on the cloth, with needles having eyes, and with a particular kind of woollen thread, instead of the silk employed in the usual embroidered work. In the amli shawl

the pattern, which is in every case delineated, but which at the loom is read off in certain technical terms from a book, is covered with transparent paper, upon which the outlines of the composition are slightly traced with a charcoal twig, and the traced lines are permanently defined by being pricked through with a small needle. The cloth intended to receive the pattern is rubbed strongly upon a smooth plank, with a piece of highly-polished agate or cornelian, until it is perfectly even and regular. The pricked pattern is then stretched upon the cloth, and some fine coloured powder, charcoal, or chalk, is passed slightly over the paper, which penetrating through the holes, transfers the outline to the cloth underneath. This is next more accurately delineated with some coloured powder, rendered tenacious by mucilage of gum arabic, which, when the work is completed, is readily detached in dust by the hand.

The use of patterns by the chain-stitch embroiderer, and the carpet weaver of Kashmir, is more restricted to a confined number of forms, by being transferred from a wooden

block to the cloth, in regard to the former, and to paper in respect to the latter.

The following are the chief articles of this manufacture, with their usual prices.

Shawls in pairs form the principal article of this manufacture, and have different names, according to their nature and quality, as plain white, coloured, embroidered in the loom, or by the hand with the needle: viz.:—

Patu Pashmini, sometimes made of Asal tús, but more frequently of the coarse kinds of shawl-wool, is in length four gaz, and in breadth one and a half gaz. This is thick, and used as a blanket, or for outer clothing. Price from 5 to 6 rupees per gaz.

Shala Phiri, as its name denotes, is made of phiri, or of seconds-wool. Its length is from three and a half to four gaz, and breadth one and a half gaz. Price from 20 to 30 rupees per piece.

Halwan, or plain white cloth, of fine shawl-wool, without flower, border, or other ornament, differs in length, but is twelve giras in breadth, and is used for turbans and for dyeing. Price from 3 to 6 rupees per gaz.

Jowhar Shala Sadu, or shawl with a narrow edging of coloure yarn, is from three and a half to three and three-quarters gaz in length, and one and a half in breadth. Price from 50 to 60 rupees per piece.

As all the following shawls are of the same dimensions, viz., three and a half gaz in length, and one and a half gaz in breadth, it is un-

necessary to affix the measures to their several names.

Shala Hashiadar, is edged by a single border. 60 to 70 rupees.

Shala Dohashiadar, has a double border. 40 to 70 rupees.

Shala Chahar Hashiadar, has four borders. 60 to 70 rupees.

Hashiadar Khosar, or Khalil khani, has two borders and two tanga, sometimes with, at others without a flower in the corners. 40 to 50 rupees.

Hashiadar Kiungridar. This has a border of the usual form with another withinside, or nearer to the middle, resembling the crest of the wall of Asiatic forts, furnished with narrow niches or embrasures for wall pieces, or matchlocks, whence its name. 100 to 150 rupees.

Dhourdar, has an ornament running all round the shawl, between the border and the field. 200 to 2200 rupees per pair.

Mathandar, has flowers or decorations in the middle of the field. 300 to 1800 rupees per pair.

Chand'dar, has a circular ornament or moon in the centre of the field. 500 to 1500 rupees per pair.

Choutahidar, has four half-moons. 300 to 1500 rupees per pair.

Kunjbuthadar, has a group of flowers at each corner. 200 to 900 rupees per pair.

Alifdar, has green sprigs without any other colour, on a white ground or field. 120 to 1150 rupees per pair.

Kaddar, has large groups of flowers somewhat in the form of the cone of a pine, with the ends or points straight, or curved downwards.

Dokaddar, has two heights of such groups; Sekaddar three rows; and so on to five and upwards: in the latter case, however, the cones are somewhat small. 100 to 800 rupees per pair.

The ornaments of shawls are distinguished by different names, as Pala, Hashia, Zangir, Dhour, &c., and these are divided into different parts. By the term *Pala* is meant the whole of the embroidery at the two ends, or, as they are technically called, the heads of the shawl.

The Hashia, or border, is disposed commonly one at each side in the whole length, and if double or triple, gives particular denominations to the shawl.

The Zanjir, or chain, runs above and also below the principal mass of the Pala, and as it were confines it.

The Dhour, or running ornament, is situated to the inside in regard to the Hashia and the Zanjir, enveloping immediately the whole of the field.

The Kunjbutha, is a corner ornament, or clustering of flowers.

The Mattan, is the decorated part of the field or ground.

Butha, is the generic term for flower, but is specifically applied, when used alone, to the large cone-like ornament which forms the most prominent feature of the Pala. Sometimes there is only one line of these ornaments, extending from the lower Zanjir to the upper one. When there is a double row, one above the other, the Butha is called Dokad, Sehkad, up to five, after which it takes the name of Tukaddar.

Each Butha consists of three parts; viz., the Pai, or foot or pediment of leaves generally; the Shikam, or belly, and the Sir, or head. The head is either erect, or straight, or curved, or inclined. If the Butha slope generally, it is named Butha kaj. The Thal, or net, is the work which separates the different Buthas, but sometimes the interstice is without ornament.

Jamawar, signifies literally a gown-piece. The length of this cloth is three and three-quarter gaz, and the breadth one and a half gaz.

This article branches into many varieties, as Khirkhabutha—large compound flowers, consisting of groups of smaller ones. This is used by the Persians and Affghans.

	Rupees per piece.	
Rezabutha, small flowers thickly set,	200 to	700
Thaldar, net-work, . .	500	1700
Islîmî . . .	250	400
Mehramat . .	150	300
Khatherast . .	150	750
Marpèch . . .	200	350
Kalmkar . .	300	1000
Zakhe Angur . .	300	500
Chaporast . .	300	7000
Dogul, Seh gul, Chahar gul, &c.	500	1000
Barghe bed . . .	250	400
Gulisant . .	200	900
Duazdeh khat . .	700	1500
Duazdeh rang . .	800	1400
Gule parwane . .	300	450
Kaddhar . .	300	2000
Kayhamu, Sabzkar, Safed .	120	130

These are made by the shawl weaver alone, and go largely into Hindustan, where they are dyed, the small green flowers being previously tied up in hard small knots, so as to be protected from the action of the dye, and are, of course, when untied, each surrounded by a small white field. Small eyes of spots of yel-

low, red, and of other colours, are supposed to harmonize with the green flowers and the new ground, and these are added by embroiderers or Chikkandoz.

Kasabeh, or Rumal—Women's Veils—Square Shawls. These are from one and a half to two and a half gaz square, and are called,

Khathdar. 300 to 500 rupees.

Mehramat. 150 to 300 ditto.

Islîmî, with the thirteen other patterns of the Jamawars; and in addition there are

Chaharbagh. 300 to 350 rupees.

Hashia. 100 to 175 ditto.

Chand. 50 to 200 ditto.

Chautahi. 150 to 400 ditto.

Shash Mantahi. 250 to 200 ditto.

Feringi. 100 to 500 ditto. Exported chiefly to Russia.

Tara Armeni. 100 to 250 ditto. Ditto to Armenia and Persia.

Tara Rumi. 120 to 300 ditto. Ditto to Turkey.

Sada. 12 to 15 ditto, for domestic use.

Shamlas, or girdles for the waist, worn by the Asiatics, are eight gaz in length, and one and a half gaz broad, and of various colours and patterns, and vary from 50 to 2000 rupees a-piece, according to the richness of the work.

Doshala, or shawls, which contain three palas instead of two, go only to Tibet, and sell for 100 to 150 rupees.

Goshpech, or Patka, or turbans, are in length from eight to ten gaz, breadth one gaz, and of all colours. One variety has two palas, two zanjirs, and two hashias. 150 to 800 rupees.

Mandila, another variety, sometimes has a zanjir, and sometimes is without this ornament. This latter is from eight to ten gaz in length, and about twelve giras broad. 45 to 70 rupees.

Khalin Pashmina, shawl-carpets. This is sold at 20 to 40 rupees the square gaz of only three-quarters, and is made of any size in a single piece.

Nakash, trowsers. Some are with, others without seams. The former are made of two pieces, which are sown together by the rafugar, the latter by the jarab saz, or stocking-maker. 200 to 500 rupees a pair.

Chaharkhana, netted cloth. Length indefinite, breadth one and a half gaz, used by women. 5 to 10 rupees per gaz.

Gulbadan. Length indefinite, breadth from fourteen giras to one gaz. 5 to 6 rupees per gaz.

Lungi, girdles. Length three and a half gaz, breadth one and a half gaz. These differ from Shamlas by being in narrow check, and bordered by lines of different colours. 50 to 70 rupees.

Takhin, caps. 8 anas 4 rupees.

Jaráb, short stockings. Guldar and Mehramat, flowered and striped. 1 to 5 rupees.

Moze Pashmina, long stockings. 5 to 25 rupees.

Sakkab Posh, canopies. 300 to 1500 rupees.

Darparda, curtains for doors and windows. Same price as Jamawar, by measure.

Kajjari Asp, saddle-cloths. Ditto.

Kajjari Fil, elephants' housing. Ditto.

Balaposh, or Palang Posh, quilt or coverlet. 300 to 1000 rupees.

Galaband, cravat. 12 to 300 rupees.

Pistan band, neckerchief. 5 to 15 rupees.

Langota, waistbelts. 15 to 30 rupees.

Postin, cloths left long in the nap to line pelisses. 500 to 1000 rupees.

Paipech, leggings. Length two gaz, breadth one gira, of all colours. 2 to 10 rupees.

Yezar, or Izar band, waist-strings. 1 to 15 rupees.

Takkia, pillow-bier. Same price as Jamawar.

Khalita, bags or purses. 8 anas to 2 rupees.

Kabbar Posh, shrouds or covers for tomb-stones. Same price as Jamawar.

Takposh, covers or hangings in front of recesses or cupboards. Ditto.

And Khwanposh, dish-covers or napkins, of various qualities and patterns, from 30 to 500 rupees a piece.

The whole value of shawl-goods manufactured in Kashmir may be estimated at about thirty-five lacs of rupees per annum, or say, three hundred thousand pounds. It had, however, latterly, much declined, and it was expected that in the year 1822-3 the value would scarcely exceed half the above sum. Kashmir was formerly resorted to for shawl-goods by merchants from Turkey, both in Asia and Europe, by Armenians, Persians, Afghans, Uzbeks, and by traders from Hindustan and from Chinese Turkistan. Political events had largely reduced the trade with Persia, Turkey, and the Panjab, and that with Hindustan had sustained much de-

triment from the prevalence of British rule, and the loss of wealth by the Native courts, in which costly shawls were formerly a principal article of attire. The trade with Turkistan was on the increase, in consequence of the extending demands of Russia.

The manufacture of shawls, however important to the population of Kashmir, is not the only mechanical process to which their industry is directed, and their workmen have considerable reputation for the fabrication of gun and pistol barrels. It seems likely that upon the introduction of the use of fire-arms, the methods long, and perhaps exclusively known to the Asiatics, of manufacturing sword blades of peculiar excellence, was transferred, with some modification, to that of gun-barrels, and are still in use for that purpose. In Persia, Kabul, the Panjab, and Sindh, the same general principles prevail, but the matchlocks of the last are held deservedly in highest estimation. In some parts of India the workmen prefer for the material of their barrels the iron of old sugar-boilers, from some such notions, perhaps, as recommend horse-shoe nails in England; but where this

is not to be had, they employ the spongy, cavernous, and crude mass, which has been first reduced from the ore: the fuel used is wood-charcoal only. The forge is employed for no other sort of work, and is usually established at the mouth of an oblong chamber, raised within the gunsmith's shop. The platform of this chamber is lower than the general level of the floor of the shop, by a few inches only at the mouth, but deepens by a regular slope to the farther end, making about a foot in difference between the front and the back. The sides and the end are closed by a straight, upright walling, and the top by a vaulted roof, pierced by a vent-hole for the smoke, which is diffused through the upper part of the shop, and escapes by the roof and windows. The roof is generally horizontal, but sometimes slopes from the mouth to the end, like the upper leather of a shoe, from the instep to the toe. This forge differs in dimensions, but in the clear, from the mouth to the end, is frequently about three feet six inches, in the height of the wall inside, four feet, and the breadth about eighteen inches.

The tew-hole, or space for the nozzle of the

bellows, is invariably in the left-hand wall, on a level with the platform of the general floor of the shop, and about six inches from the mouth of the forge, which is open from the floor to the roof. The whole is built of brick, plastered both within and without with clay mortar. There is no metallic *back*, and the tew-hole is in general metallic only in part, consisting of a narrow slip of iron, about ten inches in length, worked at one end into a broad tongue, of which the edges are bent upwards, turned over, and form the circle, or end of a tube, the rest being made merely of clay; and the narrow end of the slip running through the wall, and being worked into it, keeps the whole in place. The circle of iron is covered with a coating of clay, and the opening has a direction somewhat more downwards than horizontal, so that the stream of air from the bellows strikes more directly upon the metal exposed to its action than that of an European forge. The bellows are double, as is the case through India generally. Each pair consists of a goat skin untanned, but made pliable by being rubbed between the hands, and the hair side is left outwards

For this appropriation the body of the animal is extracted by an incision, continued from the middle of the hinder part of one thigh to the same point in the other.

A cylindrical tube of iron, or of wood, is inserted into, and tied tight in the neck, as the nozzle of the bellows, and the skin of the legs is also tied at the knees. But the edges of the incision, by which, as before observed, the body was extracted, are stiffened, and kept apart by a long piece of wood sewn to each side; and these are connected with each other by thongs of white leather. These thongs, in the form of loops, admit the fingers and thumb of the operator, who, with each hand, works each pair of bellows inserted into the tew-hole by their nozzles, side by side, by opening and shutting the mouth of each alternately, and pressing the air contained in their cavities forwards and downwards. By this simple apparatus the air is thrown upon the work in a continued stream, and a welding heat is soon got up. The whole forge is a parallelogram of such a length, as is nearly capable of receiving half the whole length of the longest barrel made, and the bottom of

the platform is covered with light ashes. A brick laid on its edge from the side-wall just beyond the tew-hole projects into, and partly across the forge, and is met by another at right angles, placed in the length, from which results a space about eight inches in length, and six in breadth, bounded on one side by the wall, by the longitudinal brick on the other, and open to the mouth of the forge, having the tew-hole in the middle on the wall side. In this space is placed the charcoal, of which the consumption is small, and little of the heat is lost, through the fire being thus confined by the bricks, and by the layer of ashes, whilst the artist is capable of limiting the action of the heat to as small a surface of the work as he may desire. The whole expense of a forge of this kind constructed for myself, along with the bellows, did not exceed five shillings, although the work was paid for more largely than if it had been executed for a native.

The iron here employed is that of Bajour, as it comes from the smelting furnace, after, whilst hot, receiving a few blows, which condense it into a rude kind of pig, of

which the weight differs from five to eight sers (Kashmir), and which sells as high as four pence per pound. The first process consists in cutting the pig, when heated, into narrow strips with a cold chisel, and in this operation the iron loses one-fourth of its gross weight, from which some idea may be formed of the large proportion of unmetallic matter contained in it. Each of these strips, separately, is brought to a welding heat, and worked smartly under the hammers of two men, on a block of compact limestone, which, fixed in the ground, serves as an anvil. When the slag is expelled by this operation, each strip is drawn out under the hammer into a strap about two feet in length, an inch and a fifth in breadth, and one-fifth of an inch in thickness. One of these straps has its ends so brought together as to form a parallelogram, generally about five and a half inches long, and sufficiently broad to contain twenty lengths of the other straps cut up for the purpose. Some of these are wedged in upon their edge, their faces standing parallel to each other, and to the long sides of the belting strap, of which the ends have been pre-

viously welded together. The *pie* is then turned to its opposite face, and other pieces of strap are driven between the lengths, which were inserted on the opposite side, so as to make the whole tight; and this object is further aided by its being put into the fire, lightly heated, and receiving a few blows upon both faces as well as upon the edges. It is next smeared over with a paste of clay and water, placed near the fire, and when dried, a light welding heat being taken at it, the whole is struck up into a tolerably compact mass by smart, but rather light hammering. Exposed now to a stronger heat, the mass is vigorously and quickly hammered, and beaten out into four-sided bars, about a foot long, and a finger's thickness. These are each heated again separately, and drawn out into square rods, about a quarter of an inch broad on each face. One of these rods, neatly squared and free from scale, is pushed into the forge fire, so that the loose end penetrates under the cross firebrick into the bed of ashes, and the middle only is exposed to the fire. When it has got a red heat nearly verging upon white, it is withdrawn, and the loose

end being quickly engaged in a small square staple projecting from the surface of a log of wood close to the mouth of the forge, so as to be held fast, the fireman having previously secured the opposite end between the jaws of a small pair of tongs with a slide on the stems, begins to twist the rod on its axis from right to left, or in the contrary direction. The hottest part, or that fit for receiving a close twist, is ordinarily from two to three inches in length; and an assistant sitting close to the rod with a small pot containing cold water, and having a spout projecting from its side, pours a stream upon the part between the hot and the black portion of the bar at one end, and then quickly at the other, to prevent these portions receiving an imperfect twist; and by the same means he cools the part twisted, as soon as it has acquired the proper screw. By one complete revolution of the rod, four winds are generated from the four angles of the square, and by the repetition of the process, through a succession of heats, the whole rod is converted into a fine screw, the workmen endeavouring to render it as even as possible. Each heat furnishes about

two or three inches of twist, according as the workmen are more or less expert; and a considerable quickness, both in eye and in hand, is required on the part of the cooler to prevent the occurrence of twist in a portion of the rod not possessing a sufficient degree of heat to admit of it twisting kindly. Barrels are called plain, pechdar, or simply twisted, or jouhardar, or damasked. For the latter, which are especially the subject of this paper, the rods are disposed according to the kind of brilliant or damasked lines intended to be produced, and which are distinguished by names taken from the country in which each variety is most affected, or from the nature, or figure, in which the lines are disposed,—as Irani, or Persian, belonging to the former class, and Pigeon's Eye, Lover's Knot, Chain, &c., appertaining to the latter.

To make an Irani barrel six or eight rods are required. In regard to the latter number four are employed of those twisted from right to left, and the same number of such as have received the opposite twist, or from left to right. Every rod, after having been slightly heated, is lightly hammered on its two oppo-

site sides equally: thus a rod has four distinct portions in its circumference, of which two have the threads beaten down, and are somewhat flattened, whilst the two others have the threads standing, and retain their original roundness. The rods are now, or were previously to being flattened, lengthened by being welded end to end, and care is taken that each rod is made up of lengths of the same direction of twist, with as little disturbance to the thread at the joints as practicable. They are next laid parallel to each other, their flat sides being in contact: rods of opposite twist being disposed in alternate succession; as, first, one twisted from left to right, next, one twisted from right to left, and so on. This done, the extremities of the rods are brought into close contact, and welded together, each end of the general bar presenting a wedge of about an inch and a half in length, flat on the upper and lower surfaces, and narrow on the sides or edges, the middle rod forming the point of the wedge. In the whole extent of the bar the rods remain merely in contact, the welding being confined to its extrem. .es

alone. The band, or *skelp*, is now ready for being formed into a hollow cylinder, through being bent or twisted in a spiral line upon itself, which process is begun at the thicker end, and continued to the thinner or muzzle, the lower extremity, or that intended for the breeching, being struck vigorously and perpendicularly down upon the stone anvil between the hammerings of every twist, for the purpose of jumping up the edges, and bringing them into close contact. When the twisting is so far completed that the edges of all the twists stand even, and touch each other, and the cylinder is nearly equal throughout its length, it is coated with a thin paste of clay and water, and is then ready for being welded. A welding heat is first taken in the middle of the cylinder, and the edges of the twists thus heated are brought into intimate contact by being jumped up, as before noticed. On this being done, the cylinder is returned to the fire, and, when the heat is well on, the twist that was jumped up is smartly hammered, so that one round is ordinarily welded at a heat. At the coming on of the second welding heat the jumping

up is repeated, followed by the welding when the heat has been regained, and so on successively until the barrel has been welded up to the muzzle. The welding is recommenced from the middle of the barrel, and, with a jumping intermediate between every two weldings, the process is continued to the breeching. This is repeated by commencing at the middle, and welding to the breeching, and afterwards proceeding from the middle to the muzzle, during which an iron rod is introduced at each end, and used as a mandril: a third heat, but merely red, is now taken at the whole surface of the barrel, which is smartly hammered, and rendered regular and level. The barrel is then fixed horizontally through a hole in an upright post, and bored, after which its surface is filed, polished, and prepared for bringing out the brilliant, or damasked lines.

The jouhar, or damask, is brought out through biting the whole surface with kassís, or sulphate of iron. The barrel is completely freed from grease or oil by being well rubbed with dry ashes and a clean rag. About three pice and one-third, or one pal,

or about three drachmas, of sulphate of iron, in powder, is mixed with as much water as is sufficient to bring it to the consistence of thick paste, which is smeared equally over the whole surface of the barrel, a stick being first introduced tightly into the muzzle to prevent any of the corrosive mixture acting upon the inside; and a like precaution is taken in respect to the breeching and the touch-hole. As soon as, by removing a little of the paste, it is seen that the metal has assumed a blackish colour, and which ordinarily happens in about two hours after it has been applied, the coating is rubbed off, and the barrel thoroughly cleaned with dry ashes and a soft rag. The same quantity of sulphate of iron as before mentioned is mixed with about four ounces of water, with which the barrel is smeared, and at the expiration of four hours is cleaned, as before mentioned, after which it is again coated with the solution, and hung up in the well. Every gunsmith, for the purpose of corroding or damasking barrels, has a well in the floor of his shop, about two yards in depth, a yard in diameter at the bottom, and diminishing gra-

dually to a span's breadth at the top, of which the mouth is crossed by a stick, and closed by a small wooden trap-door. The bottom of the well is covered with a coating of fresh horse-dung, half a yard in thickness. Suspended by a string from the cross stick, the barrel, which has been covered with the mixture of the sulphate of iron, is taken out, scrupulously, every morning, cleaned with dry ashes and a cloth, as before stated, again smeared with the solution, and hung up for twenty-four hours. If the mixture be suffered to remain on the barrel longer than this period, rusting takes place, which acts as well upon the lines expected to be brought out as upon the other parts, and defeats the object of the operation. But if the process be regularly repeated every morning, as mentioned above, prominent lines will be discovered on the surface of the barrel, separated from each other more or less by other depressed lines, or grooves, and the former will be found to have the same direction with that of the threads in the twisted rods. The prominent lines when rubbed are bright, and of a colour somewhat approaching to that of silver,

whilst the depressed lines are dark. The former are obviously the outer circumference or edge of the thread of the screw, more or less condensed and flattened by the hammer, and the latter the spaces betwixt the threads. Whether this difference in effect arise solely from a difference in hardness between the periphery of the thread produced by the twisting, or from some other circumstance, is left to the decision of others, it being the intention of the writer to confine his observations to facts, leaving deductions to future examination, when there is doubt or obscureness in the subject.

The process is generally continued for twenty days, or a month, according to the degree of prominence required in the brilliant lines; is hastened by a high temperature, and delayed by a low one, but as yet has been subjected to variations, not governed by any other rule than the result of common experience.

The principal character of difference between the Zanjir and Persian damask consists in the introduction into the former of a band of prominent and brilliant lines, dis-

posed in a manner somewhat resembling the links of a chain between parallel plain lines of damask, ultimately bounded by two twisted rods on each side of the whole; and the barrel is made up of a repetition of this pattern, by a single band being wound upon its axis in a spiral line, as in the Persian damask. The processes of cutting up the pig, and of reducing the strips into straps, are the same in both the Persian and the chain damask, but the subsequent management differs materially. In this latter the ghilaf, or pie, is made up of eighteen lengths, wedged into the belt, and treated for the manufacture of the rods, as before mentioned; but the pie for the chain contains only eight lengths, which altogether weigh little more than a pound and a quarter. This pie, when welded, is drawn out into straps, about half an inch in breadth, and one-sixth of an inch in thickness. One of these straps, being heated, is bent backwards and forwards upon itself in eight continued folds or loops, each an inch in length, and, being brought to a welding heat, is knocked up, and worked into a strap only one-third of an inch broad,

and one-tenth of an inch in thickness. Three of this kind of strap are required in this pattern, viz., one for the chain, and two for the lines before noticed. The face of the iron anvil of a gunsmith has, at one edge, a perpendicular hollow about a quarter of an inch deep, and about one-third of an inch in its opposite diameters. Across this groove one end of the strap is laid, whilst cold, and driven down into it by a small chisel and a hammer, by which the strap receives a bend or angle. Its opposite face is then placed across the die or groove, within a short distance from the acute elbow made by the chisel, and, in like manner, wedged into the former, after which the operation is reversed, and so on in succession on the opposite sides, until the whole band is converted into a frill of loops. This frill is then heated, and the operator, holding one end with a small pair of tongs, and, seizing the opposite sides of the middle of two loops of the heated extremity with the small and sharp jaws of another pair, brings them into contact, leaving the ends open. The opposite sides of the strap betwixt the two next loops is treated in

the same way, and so on till the frill is much reduced in length, through the loops of the strap standing right across its general direction, in which position they present the appearance of the links of a chain, each much drawn in at the middle. Different lengths of frill are welded together, so as to form a riband six spans long, confined laterally by being in contact with two plain straps set on edge, and bounded externally by four rods, two on each side, lying parallel and in contact, and of which latter one is twisted from left to right, and its immediate neighbour from right to left. The extremities of the general band of these seven straps and rods are welded up into a wedge, and the band being extended along the surface, a plain strap of equal breadth and length is welded upon it, afterwards hammered out and twisted, and in all other respects treated as was the band for the Persian damask. The chain damask is, in general, preferred to all other varieties yet invented, excepting the silver twist, of which I cannot speak much further than as having seen it when completed, and as this affects merely the

appearance of the barrel, and contributes not to its strength, an acquaintance with the process is rather a matter of curiosity, or of luxury, than of use. It is said that the jowhar, or damask, is imitated in Hindustan by lines being traced in a coating of wax laid over the metal, and the barrel being exposed to the action of the sulphate of iron, and a similar effect is stated to be produced by waxed threads being twisted into certain forms, and caused to adhere to the surface of a polished plain barrel; the interstices, in this case, undergoing a slight degree of corrosion, through being treated by this sulphate.

The fabrication of damasked sword-blades is no longer practised in Kashmir, but I employed some of the smiths to make some upon the principles above described, and the result of their workmanship was sent home.

A fabric of much greater importance to Great Britain than that of damasked sword-blades, is that of Yirak leather, or leather suited for saddlery. Such pieces of this as came in our way were usually old narrow slips employed as reins and head-stalls; but the leather

was strong, solid, heavy, and pliable, without any disposition to crack. Some of the pieces had been in use eighteen or twenty years, and were none the worse for constant wear. The price was four times that of other leather made in Kashmir. The skins intended for this leather, after being well cleaned, are placed in a vat of clean water, with a layer of pounded galls between every two skins; a man is employed to tread them down daily from morning to night, for twenty-five days, fresh galls being added every fifth day. They are then hung to dry; but before they are dry the grain side is well rubbed with a paste of Armenian bole. When dry the flesh side is lightly scraped, and mutton-suet is rubbed in until the leather is saturated: the rubbing is performed in the sunshine, and the skin is left for several days exposed to the sun. It is then put into water again, and trodden and rubbed until all greasiness disappears, when it is polished by being well rubbed with a blunt iron instrument.

A branch of manufacture for which Kashmir has long been celebrated, is that of ornamented pen-cases made of paper. They are

of several varieties, classed under two heads —Masnadi, or royal, and Farsi, or Persian:— the former are articles of table-furniture, more or less bulky; the latter are portable. They are usually long, shallow boxes, rounded at the ends, with a sliding convex cover, and the masnadi have sometimes trays or stands, or are fitted with feet. Part of the interior is separated to hold an inkstand. They are remarkable for the variety and elegance of the patterns with which they are painted, most generally of flowers, for the brilliancy of their colours, and the beauty of the varnish. They are most commonly made of paper, which has been written upon, but sometimes of light wood. The ground of the colouring is commonly metallic, of gold or of tin, and the pigments employed are cochineal, or the kirmis insect, ultra-marine from Yarkand, white-lead from Russia, as well as verdigris from Surat, and possibly from Britain. Other colouring drugs are found in the country, or imported from Hindustan. Varnishes are obtained from the resin of the aloe or the storax; but the best is that of the Kahruba, which is usually regarded as amber, but is by some

said to be copal. Its abundance and cheapness in Kashmir certainly indicate its being the produce of some living plant. The brushes are made of the hair of the shawl-wool goat, and the pencils from the hairs in the fur of the cat. The painting is of two kinds, raised and flat, and the former admits of several diversities, according to the greater or less relief given to the performance. The elevation of the ornamented or embossed parts is given by forming the ground of the ornaments with white-lead, mixed with a solution of glue. The surface is spotted with dots of white paint, which are left to dry, and are then trimmed with a knife; they are then covered with a surface of glue, and upon that the colour of the ornament is laid. Birds and butterflies are sometimes represented in this manner, amongst flowers and foliage, on the flat surface.

A similar style of painting is sometimes applied to palankins, elephant houdas, and even to the walls and ceilings of rooms. The painters of Kashmir are an ingenious race, and have talents which, under a fostering government and competent instruction, might

be applied with success to loftier objects than articles of furniture or decorated pen-cases.

Paper is made in Kashmir in considerable quantity, from old cloth of the san-hemp, and from cotton rags.

CHAPTER IV

Excursion to the Deodar Forest—Kashmir Boats—Vitastha—Shadehpur—Sambhalpur—Manas Lake—River Navigation—Villages—Entrance to the Wular Lake—Lanka Island—Zein-ul-ab-addin—Shape and Character of the Lake—Shooting—Sinhára nut—Fishing—Mountains—Supur—Lalakoal River—Valley—Scenery—Peasantry—Uttar District—Dardus—Ziarat of Ghyber Shah—Darvesh—Village deserted—Segam—Deodar Forests—Return.

SHORTLY after we were domesticated in Kashmir we undertook a short excursion * to the northern parts of the valley, partly for the general purpose of exploring the country, and partly to procure the seeds of the Deodar pine, which in that situation attains its greatest size. Although some objections were started to the journey, yet these were overcome, and the necessary permission was granted. Surat Sinh and Maha Sinh were appointed ostensibly as our Mehmandars, with the additional duty, no doubt, of watch-

* These excursions in Kashmir are from the Journals of Mr. Trebeck.—ED.

ing our proceedings and checking our inquisitiveness. Part of our route was to be performed by water, along the Wular Lake, and for this purpose we had four boats, long narrow vessels of the canoe-build, with mat awnings, and two smaller ones, with Shikaris, or professional hunters. We started on the afternoon of the 15th of December, from the vicinity of Dilawar Khan's garden, a little above the bridge called Fateh kadal, and proceeded along the Vitastha to the west. The houses were on either bank close to the water's edge, and we passed under several bridges. In about half an hour we came to the confluence of the Dudh Ganga, a small stream which joins the Vitastha near the limits of the city. The river was at first about forty yards broad, but latterly double that breadth, and flowed at the rate of half a knot an hour; the water was of a greenish colour, but tolerably clear and deep, with a hard and sound bottom. We stopped just before dark at the hamlet of Palapura, on the right bank *. On the opposite was the village of Shalating.

* The Phalapura of the Chronicles, founded by Lalitaditya in the eighth century.—Ed.

On the 16th we proceeded in a direction mostly to the north-west; but the course of the river was occasionally tortuous; the banks were in general low, and as regular as if they were the borders of a canal; the depth of the water was from one to three fathoms; and about a fathom higher was the greatest height to which it attained. We passed several villages: one of these, said to be, by land, seven kos from the city, Shadehpur, on the left bank, was of some extent, and the site of a market for grain. Immediately opposite to it was the conflux of the Sindh with the Behut. The former enters the latter by two channels, separated by a space of about four hundred yards. The banks are low; the river is navigable to within a short distance of Guzar Gandarbal. At two kos from Shadehpur we came to Sambhalpur, a village in two divisions, separated by the river, but connected by a fine bridge of considerable size. It rested on four piers, constructed in the river, forming five water-ways, and was, at least, a hundred yards long. On the north-east, a low ridge stretched from the mountains, and terminated within eight hundred yards of the

channel of the river. After quitting Sambhalpur, we came to the mouth of a small stream that looked like a canal. It was, however, an outlet from the lake of Manasbal, which was about three miles to the north *. This is above two miles and a half in circumference, but very deep, and, according to some reports, unfathomable. A tradition prevails, that a holy man devoted many years to the preparation of a line long enough to reach the bottom; but finding his labour vain, he at last threw himself in despair into the lake. The lake is supplied entirely by internal springs. On its north bank is the village of Safapur, where the emperor Akbar had a garden. On the southern bank is another village, that of Ahatingo; limestone is found in the neighbourhood, and is burnt there. We stopped for the night at the village of Hasim. We encountered a number of boats on this day's voyage. Some of them were passage-boats like our own. Others might more properly be denominated barges, as they were of considerable size, carrying wood and provisions to the

* This is what Jacquemont calls "le plus lac des lacs de Cachemyr, car il est le seul profond." He does not name it.—ED.

extent, perhaps, of one hundred and fifty tons. They were flat-bottomed, slightly curved at either extremity, and drew little water. A cabin of mats, thatched, accommodated the waterman and his family. When going with the current, they were commonly pushed on by long poles: occasionally they were paddled. There was no contrivance for steering. Against the stream they were towed, twelve or fifteen men being put upon the towing-line, and with all their efforts making a progress most tediously slow. The Behut is admirably fitted for this canal-like navigation, from the level direction of its banks, and their great firmness and unbroken regularity. They were clothed with grass to the edge of the water. The bottom of the river was of stiff clay without a weed; and although the water was not exactly the liquid crystal of an alpine rill, yet it had lost little of its primitive clearness, and was rarely discoloured by soil.

Much rain had fallen during the day, and the mountain barriers of the valley had been completely hidden, so that the view from the boat resembled that which is commonly presented by the rivers of Hindustan, except that

instead of the mud or mat cottages peeping from amidst tufts of bambus, or clumps of the verdant mango or pipal, the no less rudely-constructed log-hut appeared amidst clusters of tall trees, stript of their foliage by the blasts of winter. The villages were also thinly scattered along the banks and adjacent plain, and they were in general in a ruinous and half-deserted condition. Everything wore a decidedly wintry aspect, and we felt ourselves in the climate of the north of Europe. The flocks of wild ducks and geese that had deserted the frozen lakes to seek food on the river surpassed in numbers and in clamour anything of the kind we had hitherto encountered.

On the morning of the 17th we left Hasim, and in something less than two hours came to a division of the river into two channels, leading to the lake. We followed the smaller, which was on the right, and in a quarter of an hour entered the Ular, or Wular Lake: opposite to the entrance was a small island not more than three hundred yards in circumference, on which we landed. There were two ruined buildings upon it; one of stone, at

its eastern extremity, was evidently of Hindu construction: several polygonal massive columns were strewed about, but there was no sculpture nor inscription. The other building, more to the left, was merely an oblong house with pitched roof and plastered wall, on which latter were fragments of a blue enamel. A stone with a Persian inscription was brought to us, which intimated that a mosque had been erected here by Zein-ul-ab-addin, the sovereign of Kashmir, between the Hejira years 827 and 878. The islet, which is the only one in the lake, is called Lanka, and is the subject of several traditions. According to one of these, the lake, about the time just mentioned, extended to the vicinity of Sumbhalpur, and the extent therefore to be traversed exposed the boats to sudden gales of wind, and occasioned frequent loss of lives. To prevent such accidents, Zein-ul-ab-addin determined to form a half-way landing-place, and accordingly had ordered an immense pile of stones and rubbish, derived from the Hindu temples which he had demolished, to be thrown into the water, and thus formed the substratum of the island, to which, in ridicule

of Hindu tradition, he gave the name of Lanka. Another story is, that the capital of Kashmir formerly occupied the site now covered by the lake, but that it suddenly sunk, and was submerged by some great convulsion of nature: Zein ul abaddin, it is added, caused the lake to be explored for some relics of the catastrophe, and the buildings now on Lanka were constructed by his orders, of fragments recovered from the water. The celebrated Mirza Hyder extols Lanka as a delightful spot for a party of pleasure: at present it offers nothing calculated to give a zest to recreation, containing only a few wretched huts, inhabited by tenants miserably poor, and abominably dirty: a party of women welcomed us with a song, and it was hard to say whether their squalid persons or discordant voices were most repulsive. A water line was noticed on the bank of the island, at least forty feet above the surface of the lake. We started from Lanka at half-past one, and in something less than an hour arrived at the northern edge of the lake, where we stopped for the night.

The Lake of Ular is of an oblong shape;

its northern bank is skirted by the mountains, which terminate the valley so closely, as scarcely in some parts to leave a footpath between them and the water: more to the westward they again recede, leaving an open space of perhaps a mile. The outline of the lake is very regular, and its general appearance is picturesque and pleasing: we saw it under unfavourable circumstances; in summer it would, no doubt, afford a resemblance to some of the lakes of Westmoreland or Scotland. At the season we visited it, the water being low, left a line of swamp between it and the shore: the hills beyond the level rose to one thousand or one thousand two hundred feet, and were thickly clothed with pine forests, and similar mountains shut in the view to the east and west, beyond the low and richly-wooded lands of the valley. The bottom of the lake was of soft mud, and the depth, where we sounded, varied from less than one fathom to two fathoms or something more. At the place where we rested were many boats and barges taking in rice in the husk, brought down to the water-side by the villagers, who were a stout, athletic race.

Thousands of water-fowl were sporting on the lake, but they were very shy, and it was difficult to approach near enough for sport. In shooting them, the Kashmirian sportsman employs a matchlock, the barrel of which is at least ten feet long. When rowed near to the game, he and the single boatman who accompanies him, lie down in the boat so as to be seen as little of as possible by the birds, and then with small paddles and their hands over the sides, gently push the boat onwards until within range: two or three birds generally fall at each discharge. The Kashmirians have very exaggerated ideas of the extent of this lake, and one of them gravely asked me if it was not as large as the sea. A number of boats on the lake were employed in raking up the sinhara, or water-nut: for this purpose a long stake is stuck in the muddy bottom, and a small boat with three or four men lashed to it: the men are furnished with a pole, at one end of which a flat board is fastened, and with this they rake the bottom, dragging up the plants; these at first are much entangled by their long fibrous stems, but they are unrawelled by suspension for some time in the

water. The government, it is said, receives annually ninety-six thousand kharwars or ass loads of the nut. There were also boats engaged in fishing; two moderately heavy boats and two light skiffs usually act together for this object: in each of the former are two men, one rowing, the other managing the net; the latter is paddled by one man seated at the head. The net is of the shape of a cone, but of a considerable size; the mouth is stretched on a wooden frame, in the form of a parabola of nearly a fathom area, a pole extending from the base to the summit, intended both to give support to a rod which reaches to the end of the bag, keeping it stretched, and to be of use in raising the net, which is too heavy to be wholly managed by a single person. When all is ready, the sterns of the two larger boats are brought so near together, that the space between them may be wholly occupied by the nets lowered on their sides; the skiffs then go a-head, and wheeling round, make between the two larger boats, striking the water smartly; the net is drawn as they approach, and each man in the skiff assists the one in the large boat to

raise it. A single jerk empties the net of its contents, and it is again lowered; the skiffs then proceed, and turning round their companions, again row a-head, and the operation is repeated. The rapidity and regularity with which these manœuvres are repeated render the fishing on Lake Ular an amusing and interesting spectacle. The fish caught are in general small, but a variety of trout is sometimes taken ten or twelve pounds weight. The fishermen sometimes use grains for striking them.

On the morning of the 18th we proceeded towards the south-western extremity of the lake; on our right, at the horizontal distance of not more than eight hundred paces, was a small house surrounded by trees, on the top of a small hill; this is the garden of a Kashmirian saint, named Shukar-uddin: beyond this the mountains run off to the west, and the shore of the lake lies low. The crown of the range of mountains running across the valley parallel with the shore was about two miles horizontally distant from the latter: at the south-western extremity, distant about three miles

from the opposite shore, we re-entered the channel of the river, here about one hundred and fifty yards broad, and stopped early in the afternoon at Supur, a town on both sides of the stream, connected by a bridge of three piers, between eighty and a hundred yards long. At Supur was a bazar for provisions, and for the Bajauri or Peshawari iron, which passes through this on its way from the west to Srinagar. The streets were narrow, crooked, and in wet weather are very dirty, and the houses presented the same characteristic deformities as those of the capital. A small brick fort stood on the right bank of the river, at the northern end of the bridge; the walls were lofty, but not very substantial. Passing below the bridge, we found our horses and servants who had been sent to meet us. The latter had taken up their quarters in an empty house, one of the best mansions in the town, but without owner or tenant, and accessible to any one that pleased to enter. Surat Sinh and Ganes Pandit, the farmer of the revenue of the district, were at Supur with a party of Sikh soldiers, levying taxes: the

latter was a tall, thin young man, heavy in conversation, and said to bear a very indifferent character.

On the 19th of December we commenced our land journey, proceeding in a north-westerly direction from Supur. The road at some short distance skirted the northern edge of the small river Lala-koal, which joined the Behut near the village of Dabu: the breadth of the valley was about two miles. On this side of Poru, five kos from Supur, the surface was irregular; but from thence a small, but beautiful plain lay before us. At two miles further on we came to the hamlet of Chogul, where a party of Sikhs were stationed. We halted a little in advance at Nulu Nupu, where the valley was not more than eight hundred paces broad, with the Lala-koal curling sluggishly along its centre. The country along the whole of the route was very beautiful. On quitting Supur we traversed a broad, flat surface, with the mountains on either hand too remote to display their features in detail. From the top of the high bank whence Chogul was first beheld the scene was somewhat changed.

Before us was a plain nearly circular, bounded to westward by long swelling ridges, bearing broken forests of pine, interspersed with tracts of soil of evident fertility: beyond them were lofty mountains in their winter garb. Later in the day their snowy summits blended with the hazy sky, and formed an admirable background to the frowning forests and the smiling plain; the latter, studded with orchards and hamlets, which lay nearest to the spectator. The beauty of the scenery, however, ill harmonised with the appearance of the peasantry. Their huts were inferior in comfort to an English cow-house, and their clothes were insufficient to defend them from the cold of the season. Not one-twentieth part of the arable land was in cultivation, and a number of half-choked canals attested once careful, and now neglected irrigation. We were lodged in a miserable hut, which scarcely afforded as good a shelter as might have been attained underneath some trees in the neighbourhood, especially as their boughs were covered with long thick ropes of grass, hung there as a supply of winter forage. Maha Sinh and his Sikhs seemed to be practising

the usual system of violence and extortion, as far as we might judge from the clamorous remonstrances of the villagers.

The valley on the following day was much contracted: the hills on either side were low, and generally covered with pine forest; the lower part of the valley was fertile, and was mostly cultivated; amongst the trees we noticed the apple, the trela a delicious crab, the vine, the walnut, and the peach. The Lala-koal divided into two branches; one to the right, called the Lolab, was that which we followed, the other, the Poru, rises in the district of Uttar, at about eight kos distance to the westward. The district of Uttar is formed chiefly of a fine valley, partially cultivated, bounded on each side by snow-topped mountains; these approach towards its end, and beyond it we were told lay the Bamba country of Karnao. After pursuing the line of the stream for some way, we crossed it, and changed our direction from north-west to north-east, proceeding up a narrow valley. On the opposite of the hills on our north we were told was the country called Drao. It is nearly covered with forest, and is rarely

visited, except by cow-keepers, owing in some measure to the incursions of the Dardus, the last of which took place twenty years ago. The country of these latter was pointed out in the same direction, or rather at north-west, and was said to be nine days' journey distant; but on this head accounts were very contradictory, some stating the distance to be a journey of a month, and others of only four days.

At about four miles on the road we came to a holy shrine, called the Ziarat of Ghyber Shah, where two huts were erected for the accommodation of travellers; they were in the charge of an old Darwesh, who has inherited the office from his ancestors, and has been here since infancy. He pretended to be ninety years old. He could give us no account of the saint, nor seemed to understand the prayers which he muttered with considerable fluency in Arabic; part of his duty was to keep up a fire from morning till night. The surface of the valley from hence was somewhat uneven, and was in part covered by thin patches of snow: the river flowed gently along within bowshot of our right. We halted at

the village of Tsira-koth, where the valley was about eight hundred paces broad. The hills on our right were not above seven hundred feet high; those on the left were rather loftier, and in the distance were seen others of very considerable elevation; the ridge rising two thousand feet above our level, and being entirely covered with snow. The hardy pine, however, ascended nearly to its summit. The village where we stopped was half deserted, and the few inhabitants that remained wore the semblance of extreme wretchedness: without some relief or change of system, it seems probable that this part of the country will soon be without inhabitants. Yet the soil seemed favourable for rice cultivation, and the crop appeared to have been a good one. The poor people, however, were likely to reap little advantage from their labours, for a troop of tax-gatherers were in the village, who had sequestered nine-tenths of the grain for their employer, Jawahir Mal, the farmer of the revenue. The soil was rich, and the remains of watercourses showed that it had once been made productive: we rode also over lines of deserted orchards, which

must, at one period, have formed a forest of fruit-trees. The direction of our route must have taken us round the northern end of the Ular Lake, and there was a road on our right which led direct over the hills to the district of Kuhiama, on its borders. We might, therefore, have come hither in much less time, but it seemed to be part of our guide's policy to take us by the most circuitous route.

From Tsira-koth we proceeded to the village of Sogam, along a valley which runs first to the south-east and then east by south. On our way we again crossed the Lolab, which rises on this side the pass leading to Hasora and Little Tibet, about eleven miles off. The mountains seemed to increase but little in height: those on our left were the loftiest, but by no means of impracticable ascent, whilst those on our right were low, and were covered with the Deodar forest, which we had come to visit. We were too late, however, for seed, by three months. The cones had all fallen, and several young shoots had risen two or three inches above the ground. The snow was a foot deep in many places. The valley was much the

same as that of the preceding day, presenting an undulating surface, and thickly overspread with orchards of the walnut, apple, trela, or crab, and pear, intermixed with firs and cedars.

The people of Sogam were almost in a savage state. The men were, in general, tall and robust; the women haggard and ill-looking. The houses were mostly constructed of small trees, coarsely dovetailed together, and coated with rough plaster inside. A flat planking was laid over the top, resting on the walls, and above that a sloping roof was constructed, open at the ends, the space being either filled with dry grass, or serving to give shelter to the poultry. The interior was divided by partitions of wicker-work, plastered, into three or four small, dark, and dirty apartments. In summer-time the scenery here must be very lovely.

Having thus accomplished one of our purposes, at least, we set out on our homeward march on the 22nd, and reached Supur on the same day after dark. We there em-

barked, and, after crossing the lake, were towed up the river. We arrived at Dilawar Khan's garden late on the 24th of December.

CHAPTER V

Visit to the Sources of the Behut—Canals—Dal Lake—Ruined Temple—Ancient Pillar — Small Stream—Pampur—Saffron—Sulphur Spring—Ruined Temple of the Pandus—Wantipur—Ruins—Tral—Vijipara—Garden of Dara Shekoh—Branches of the Behut—Islamabad—Vir-nag River — Shahabad—Remains of Palace of Jehangir—Springs—Visit to the Cave of Munda—Ruined Temples at Karewe Matan—Sacred Pools at Bhuvan—Return.

On the 6th of May we set out from Kashmir on a visit to the sources of the Behut and the eastern divisions of the country, attended by a Sikh escort under command of Surat Sinh.

On quitting our house we proceeded towards the river, and then, turning to the left, passed through a narrow, irregular, and dirty street parallel with it. A few yards beyond the Haba Kadal, which is the loftiest bridge

except one in the city, we again turned to the left, and at a distance of about a mile reached the winding canal of Drogjan, planted on each side with tall poplars, round which vines were twining, sometimes as high as their middle branches. We were now beyond the limits of the city. The canal receives the water of the celebrated little Dal, or lake, which is supplied principally by a stream flowing from behind the garden of Shahlimar, and pours it into the Behut, opposite to the south-east curtain of Shir Gerh. Its connexion with the lake, when the contents of the latter are much diminished, is cut off by a strong folding gate, shutting below a bridge, which we presently crossed. After passing over it we came near to the foot of the hill on which stands the Takhti Suliman, and continued along its base for more than a mile. From thence we came again to the river, which in this part winds very considerably. Hills were close upon our left. In the middle of a small, but deep tank stood a small dilapidated temple, evidently Hindu, and said to be as old as the commencement of the Christian era. The

side of the hill above it was covered with fragments of stone, on some of which figures were sculptured, and on others ornamental carving was noticed. One large stone of a conical shape had the appearance of a lingam, but the peasants said it was a mark for the ball used in playing at chaugan, employed by a race of giants who formerly dwelt here. Another was pointed out as the goal, but proved to be the upper part and capital of a huge polygonal pillar, the shaft of which was seven yards in circumference. Traces of figures sculptured on its upper part were indistinctly perceptible. This fragment lay upon the top of a small mound, entirely alone, and no other remains of sculpture or building were discoverable in its immediate vicinity. Beyond this was the commencement of the village of Pankchok, on the right bank of the Behut, and opposite was the hamlet of Lajien, where a large quantity of mats are annually manufactured.

The road continued along the river, but the hills on the left had receded to the distance of nearly two miles. The surface of the valley was much broken by swamps, but

the level was much the same throughout, and the river flowed sluggishly along the middle of it. Carved stones, the remains both of Hindu and Mohammedan architecture, were scattered about in great numbers. We met with but one inscription, and that was only the name of the Emperor Jehangir. A small rivulet, crossed on our way, was said to rise about five miles off, by two branches, near the second of which is a village called Jwalamukhi, where there is a spring considered holy by the Hindus. After crossing the stream we came to the town of Pampur, in the Pargana of Vehu. This place is celebrated for its saffron, which grows in the neighbourhood on the driest spots in great abundance. It has a bazar and two ziarats, or tombs of holy men, Sheikh Baba and Khaja Maksud. These are small low structures, chiefly of wood, with a sort of wooden spire, capped with brass. We stopped here: our baggage was conveyed hither in boats, which arrived soon after we did, and afforded us shelter for the night.

The hills again approached the river, along which we proceeded. After passing

Latapur we came to a sulphurous spring, called Kshir Nag. There was nothing remarkable in the appearance or taste of the water: it was tepid, and emitted a strong odour of sulphur. A low, and nearly perpendicular cliff on the left was pointed out as a remarkable object. Zein ul abaddin, having been defeated, it is said, and, flying from the field, was hard pressed by his pursuers, whom he escaped by urging his horse up the steep face of this rock. Two marks on the rock are shown as the impressions of the horse's hoofs, and no Kashmirian passes without making them a salam. About half a mile further on we came to an interesting ruin on our right. Like others of the same kind, it is called by the peasants a building of the Pandus, the heroic princes of Hindu epic verse, but believed here to have been giants. The edifice must have been a square temple, with four doors, approached by broad and spacious porches, and enclosed by a wall with four gates opposite to the doors of the central structure. A part of one of these was still standing, but of the walls the foundations alone remain, and the temple itself is a

confused mass of ruins. The most remarkable feature of these remains was their magnitude. All the blocks were of immense size, and many of them could not have weighed less than ten tons. Many of them also presented traces of most elaborate sculpture*. At the adjacent village of Wantipur† we found similar remains, and here also one of the gateways was nearly entire. This was much richer than in the first edifice, and was covered with ornaments, scrolls, and figures. Two masses of stone on each side of the entrance, and each supported by a single pillar, were of an extraordinary size. The shape of the temple was undefined, and the principal part of its fragments seemed to be carved cornices or portions of the roof. The stone of which these buildings were constructed is a limestone, which is susceptible of a high polish, and might be termed grey marble. It is seen at Shahlimar, and other places about the city, where the surface still

* Some drawings of these were made by Mr. Trebeck.—Ed.

† The Avantipur of the Chronicles of Kashmir, founded by Avanti Varma, king of Kashmir in 876, who is recorded to have built many temples and palaces.—Ed.

continues smooth and perfect. Here, however, from long exposure, the surface has become decomposed, so that the carving is nearly or wholly effaced. It is scarcely possible, however, to imagine that the state of ruin to which they have been reduced has been the work of time or even of man, as their solidity is fully equal to that of the most massive monuments of Egypt: earthquakes must have been the chief agents in their overthrow.

Beyond Wantipur we crossed the river of Tral, as the district commencing at that village is called, and shortly afterwards a second stream: both these come from the north-east, and fall into the Behut. On our right, at a distance of about fifteen miles, the lofty crest of the Pir Panchal pass was visible, but the breadth of the valley continued much the same, several ranges of low hills intervening between it and Pir Panchal. The hills on our left, about eighteen hundred feet high, were covered with snow. A considerable stream, the Arabal, descends from Pir Panchal, and joins the Behut by two branches. At the village of Wagahama we

entered the district of Dakhinpara, and passed the Liddir, a stream which comes from near the Ladakh pass of Zwaje La, or, at least, from the snows which supply the rivulet that enters the valley of Sonamurgh from the south. Further on we crossed the Behut by a sanga of some extent, but much decayed, where on either bank of the river stood the town of Vijipara, or Bijbiara. During the latter part of this day's journey the soil, a stiff clay, was generally in cultivation, and much less of it was covered by pools and swamps than in the neighbourhood of the capital.

Opposite to the town of Vijipara stood what was once the garden of Dara Shekoh. It had been laid out in the same manner as the gardens of Shahlimar, Nishat, and others in Kashmir, and consisted of little more than a number of cross avenues or walks. Some of the trees were still standing, and the chenar trees especially were of stately size and magnificent foliage. Along the centre was a line of tanks, connected by a canal, and there were also the remains of a small brick palace or lodge.

About two miles farther on we came to the junction of the two main branches of the Behut, one coming from the north-west, and the other from the south-east. The former has several heads: the chief lies in the snows at a place called Koka-náth in the district of Brang, and about eight kos distant. It divides soon after its commencement into two branches, forming an island between them of some extent. The northern branch receives a small river that rises in the mountains of Koharpara more to the west. The southern is joined by the eastern branch, the Shahabad, or Vir-nag river, and the united stream meets with the northern branches a little to the north-east of Islamabad. The valley here is about seven miles broad, and begins to rise.

The town of Islamabad is built upon the extremity of a long, low spur from the mountains to the east. At the foot of the slope is a reservoir of a triangular form, in one corner of which is a copious spring, yielding, perhaps, as much as two hundred gallons per minute of a slightly sulphurous water: it was cool and quite clear, though much gas es-

caped from it. On the side of the hill were several tanks, supplied by a similar spring. There were many fish in them, which are fed, and were quite tame: they are considered sacred, and never caught.

At Islamabad are three hundred shops of shawl-weavers, and a coarse kind of chintz, and a considerable number of gabbas, or flowered patchwork cloths of the coloured woollens of the country, are fabricated. It was as filthy a place as can well be imagined, and swarmed with beggars, some of whom were idle vagabonds, but the greater number were in real distress.

On quitting Islamabad we crossed the several eastern branches of the Behut, and proceeded along the right bank of the Viranag river, at a short distance from it, to where the valley contracted to a breadth not exceeding a thousand paces, where stood the village or town of Shahabad. This is the residence of a Malik or chief, whose ancestors were persons of some consideration, being charged with the military protection of the road to Hindustan, by the pass of Bannahal, until they incurred the displeasure of their Durani

governors, and were reduced to comparative insignificance. The superintendence of the police, however, and the collection of the revenue, are still held by the present Malik, and he is said to exercise his authority more for his own benefit than that of the district. We were lodged in one of his houses; the upper part was enclosed by a lattice-work, the interstices of which scarcely admitted a finger, and which, whilst allowing access to light and air, effectually screened the rooms from inspection from without. Shahabad had a bazar and a few shops, at which provisions, coarse cloth, and remarkably fine honey, were the chief articles for sale.

We found a Sikh sirdar and some armed men here, who had come to enforce the payment of arrears of revenue due by the Malik. It was supposed that he would evade present payment by bribing the Sikh. Shahabad is said to be twenty-three kos from the capital.

On the 10th of May we crossed the Vira-nag, and following its left bank beyond where it was divided into two branches, came at about a mile and a half to the village and spring, called also Vira Naga. The valley, in our

approach to this reputed source of the Hydaspes, retained its breadth, and extended some way before us, when it appeared to terminate in a narrow defile, beneath mountains streaked with snow, and covered with dark forests of fir. Passing through the village to the foot of the western ridge, we arrived at a spring which was at the foot of a hill covered with low herbage and brushwood. After riding along the edge of a rice-field, we came to a large stream or brook, and some thick banks, which were, in fact, the remains of the wall of an extensive building. A little plat of grass to the right was pointed out as the site of that portion of the palace where the Emperor Jehangir used to show himself to his courtiers. Some yards beyond this a large body of water was found gushing up close to the path. This communicated by a subterranean drain with a spring higher up. The main stream ran within five or six paces of it, and was here edged by the foundation and bases of arches, near which it was said were the apartments of the celebrated Nur Jehan. On turning to the right we came to a watercourse of masonry much dilapidated, conducting the main

stream from the enclosure in which the spring was situated. Round this an octagonal reservoir of stone has been constructed, nineteen fathoms broad, and said to be twenty yards deep in the centre. It was full of clear still water, the surplus of which passed off by the aqueduct above noticed in a stream three yards broad, and above two feet deep. Along the side was a causeway, or walk, six feet broad, on the outer edge of which were twenty-one small arched alcoves, about twelve feet wide, and six deep, and sufficiently high for a tall man to stand upright in them. Above them appeared a mass of substantial brick-work, now overgrown with grass, so that they, no doubt, formed the basement-story of some edifice: the whole was formerly faced with stone, but the stones have been removed. One over the entrance bears the name of Jehangir, and the date of the construction of this palace. As a summer residence the site was well chosen. The mountains on either side are low, verdant, and well wooded, and are neither tame nor rugged. The valley has here a gentle slope, and rises sufficiently for this spot to command an extensive prospect

of the whole plain of Kashmir, watered by the Behut, and bounded by the blue mountains beyond the Wular lake.

Although the spring of Vira-nag is considered sometimes as the source of the Behut, yet that character appears to belong more properly to the eastern branch, which, rising by two heads, comes from the mountains in the direction of east half-south, ten kos distant. At Shahabad we were told of a wonderful cave in the hills to the west, at the bottom of which flowed a rill, forming some way within the cave a bath in a reservoir constructed of stone. In the winter the ice that was here formed was changed, it was said, to solid crystal on being brought into the air. The origin of this last story was, no doubt, the formation of stalactites; the rest of the account we undertook to verify, and on our return proceeded to ascend the face of the mountains on our left.

On the way we crossed a considerable rivulet coming from the hills. Bannahal, across the same ridge, was about seven kos distant by a crooked path. This place is included in the Subah of Kashmir, but seems rather to

belong to the hill districts, as no pass of consequence separates it from the Panjab. Farther on we passed three springs, supplying a small brook, a feeder of the Behut, and crossing this, we ascended the lower slope of the hills, continuing for some way on the Bannahal road. Here we found the prangos growing abundantly, but the peasants were ignorant of its value as winter provender for their cattle: they applied it, however, to other purposes of more equivocal benefit. Water, in which the plant had been steeped, they asserted destroyed snails, and the root rubbed on the skin was a cure for the itch. Continuing to ascend the hills, we managed, although the ground was rough and broken, to ride to within four hundred feet of the top. There we alighted, and crossing a thick bed of snow, came to the entrance of the cave of Munda. The opening was only high enough to admit a man on his hands and knees, and a stream flowed from it sufficient to turn a mill. Taking torches with us, we crawled into it, and at about five yards came to a part sufficiently lofty to allow us to stand. Our attempt to advance was, however, frustrated,

by the bottom being entirely filled with water more than mid-deep, the depth of which, as ascertained by a stick, increased as it receded. As far as we could discern, the passage continued for above twenty yards, with a height of from six to eight feet. How much farther it penetrated the mountain we could not ascertain, but it seemed likely that it was nothing more than a natural drain for the waters of the mountain. These had now accumulated in larger quantity than usual, as the mouth of the cave had been blocked up with snow. It had been partially cleared away for our visit by order of the Malik, but the quantity was too considerable to be wholly removed, unless after some days' labour. Leaving Munda we descended to Shahabad.

On the following day we rode to Islamabad, and on this occasion visited some remarkable remains in its vicinity, on the top of the low ridge or platform formerly noticed, and which is called Karawe Matan. The summit of this was for the most part perfectly level, and commonly a mile in breadth, and according to the report of the people of the country, was formerly the site of a large city, the ca-

pital of Kashmir. Scattered over the ground, indeed, we found fragments of mortar and bricks, but no relics of any note till we came to the end of the mound, where, at a distance of about two miles from Islamabad, stood the ruins we were in quest of. These from their elevated situation were widely conspicuous, and were of very remarkable extent and character. Like most of the architectural remains in Kashmir, they are termed Khana Panduwa, a house or palace of the Pandus. They consisted of a main building in the centre of an open space, surrounded by a wall. The central structure was composed of a body and two small wings, the former about fifty-six feet long by twenty-six wide, running east and west, and twenty-eight feet high, was divided into two chambers of different dimensions; the western face comprised a large, lofty, arched portal, with four carved pilasters, two on each side; the eastern front had a wide recess, occupied by a false doorway, with an ornamental arch, and on the sides of which were pilasters; similar recesses decorated the northern and southern ends: opposite to these extremities also were the two wings

or chambers, connected formerly by a colonnade with the centre. They were built with massive walls, but the interior was not above six feet square. On the inside of the enclosing wall formerly extended a series of columns, forming a sort of portico all round, and a series of small chambers or cells ran along its outer face. The whole was constructed of stones of immense size and weight, embellished with elaborate sculpture. The roofs had generally fallen in, but where remaining, were of large flat slabs of stone. The walls were for the most part entire, their massiveness having resisted not only time and earthquakes, but the assaults of man: one of the rulers of Kashmir, Sultan Hamadan, is said to have attempted in vain to undermine the edifice, or to destroy it by fire. It is fortunate he was not acquainted with the use of gunpowder. In its present condition the palace of the Pandus is a precious specimen of ancient art, and deserves a foremost place amongst the remains of Hindu antiquity*.

From the Khana Panduwa we proceeded to Bhuvan, a village about half a mile to the

* There are some drawings of this building also.—Ed.

north-west, where two reservoirs are situated, which are considered holy by the Hindus. They appeared to have belonged to a palace, the ruins of which were near them*: they were from six to eight feet deep, filled with beautifully clear water, and swarmed with tame fish. They were surrounded by a rude dharm sala, or building for the accommodation of travellers, erected recently, and tenanted by some Brahmins. From hence we proceeded to our boats, and floated with the current: above the bridge the passage was difficult, and we were often aground, but below it all was easy. We anchored at Wantipur after midnight on the 14th. On the 15th we repeated our visit to the ruins we had first observed: their effect was somewhat impaired by the greater majesty of those at Karawe Matan, but they were in the same style, and the work evidently of the same period. We arrived at Pandenthan at three in the afternoon, and as no other means of getting at the interior of the building in the tank were available, Mr. Trebeck

* More probably of a temple of Siva, who, as Tribhuvaneswara, was at different periods prior to the twelfth century worshipped in Kashmir.—Ed.

swam to it, in order to ascertain the nature of the inscription which it was said to contain. Nothing of the kind, not a single letter did it present; the interior was quite plain, with the exception of a large lotus sculptured on the roof. Nothing else occurring to delay our return, we reached Dilawar Khan's garden before sunset.

CHAPTER VI

Countries in the neighbourhood of Ladakh and Kashmir—Amaranath —Little Tibet—Balti—Skardo—Steppe of Deosu—Shigar —Shingo — Tsungaru — Kafalun — Kartakshe — Nagar — Hounz—Gilgit— Chilas — Lower Chitral — Upper Chitral — Wakkan —Road to Yarkand — Kara-kol Lake — Kirghiz of Pamer—Siri-kol—Tagarma.

ALTHOUGH unable to visit the countries which intervene on the north and north-west, between Ladakh and Kashmir on the south, and the Karakoram mountains and Badakhshan on the north, we had frequent opportunities of communicating with the natives of those regions, and gained from them various notices, which, though not as particular, nor, perhaps, as accurate as could be wished, yet may not be unacceptable in the absence of more authentic information.

Before, however, passing to those districts, it may be as well to advert to a place which

ought, perhaps, to be considered as included in Kashmir, and which lies in an angle between it and Ladakh, south of the pass of Zwaje Lá. This is the cave of Amaranath, a place of reputed sanctity and pilgrimage. The road to this cave proceeds from Bhuvan, along the valley of the Lidder to Ganes Bal, so called, it is said, from a rude stone figure, which is supposed to represent the Hindu divinity, Ganesa. It then continues to Pahalgam in Dakshinpara, and thence to the Pesh-bal pass; the latter part of the route is uninhabited. Beyond the pass is the lake of Sesh-nag, nine miles in circumference, and giving rise to a number of rivulets which form the Panch-tarang, or five-stream river; another pass in the mountains, the Neza-bal, lies beyond this, from which rises the Bhagavati river, flowing into the Panch-tarang. Near this is situated the cave of Amaranath, of which the entrance is said to be one hundred yards broad, and thirty high; the depth of the cave is five hundred yards. There are no inscriptions in it, nor any sculpture; but in the most remote part of the cave, there is said to be the figure of a Gosein, seated on a

pedestal, which figure increases and decreases in size with the increasing and waning moon, and at the conjunction entirely vanishes. It is customary, therefore, to visit the cave only about the full moon. The course of the Panch-tarang is not exactly known, but it is beheved to pass into Ladakh, near Kartse. Persons in the cave of Amaranath assert that they can hear the barking of the dogs in Tibet.

To proceed, however, with the countries on the north, it appears that those which lie along the foot of the Karakoram mountains, and which are included in Tibet, are Kartakshe, Kafalun, Kiris, Kardo, Shigar, Rundu, Hasora, Níl or Nagar, and Hounz: of these, all except the two last, which are independent, are properly part of the principality of Balti, or Baltistan. They have, however, chiefs of their own, whose subordination to the prince of Kardo, or Iskardo, which is usually regarded as the capital of Balti, depends upon his ability to enforce their allegiance.

The capital of Balti, or Baltistan, commonly termed Skardo, Iskardo, or Kardo, is more usually called in the country Sargarkhoad. There are some vague traditions also

of its being named Iskandaria, and that it was one of the cities founded by Alexander. In the course of my correspondence with Ahmed Shah, the ruler of Balti, I inquired if any vestiges of Greek colonists were to be met with, but it did not appear that any were discoverable. Skardo is situated on the left bank of the Indus, and consists of a fort, and about one hundred and fifty houses, scattered over a considerable tract on the south of the river. The fort stands on the top of a high rock, washed by the river, and is accessible on one face only. The river is about three hundred yards broad, and very deep, running with considerable velocity. The valley is about two miles broad, and is more fertile than any part of Ladakh. It is well supplied with wood, and orchards are abundant: grapes, melons, plums, apples, pears, mulberries, flourish, and the apricots, as already observed, are of peculiar excellence, and when dried are exported. The grains cultivated are wheat and barley. Horses and ponies of a serviceable description are bred. The people are industrious and hardy, and the Raja enjoys more political power than any of

the chiefs of Little Tibet. The people of Balti are all Shiah Mohammedans.

The main roads from Ladakh and Kashmir to Skardo, lead over an extensive and elevated steppe, or plain, called by the Kashmirians, Deosu, the plain of the gods. It is bare of trees, but covered with coarse grass and Tartaric furze. It is surrounded by mountains, or rather appears to be a sunken table-land, uniting the different ranges from which various streams are formed, and cross the plain in different directions. One as large as the Dras river runs to the north-west, and joins the Indus on the west of Kardo, and another flows westward, into the river of Hasora. Two others, the Marpo and Nakpo, or red and black rivers, flow to the south-east, and meet to form the Shingo river, which falls into the Dras river, shortly before the latter enters the Indus. These streams are partly fed by the plain itself, as snow lies upon it the greater part of the year, melting entirely not more than two months at the end of the summer.

Upon the eastern edge of the Deosu are the villages of Shigar and Shingo, subject to

Kardo, and comprehending not more than thirty-five or forty houses. There is another Shigar, a fort, and large village in a different position, lying, it is said, ten kos north-west from Kardo. On the western border of the steppe lies Tsungaru, or Hasora, the country of which is contiguous to Garets, a district sometimes comprehended in Kashmir. The town of Hasora consists of about three hundred houses, defended by a fort, and stands in the middle of a plain. The country, though mountainous, is fertile, and the grapes are celebrated. Some trade from Gilgit and Yarkand passes through Hasora, and many Kashmiri weavers have settled there and manufacture coarse shawls and shawl-cloth. The people are Shiahs, but are Tibetans, and speak the language of Tibet. The Raja is nominally subject to Ahmed Shah, and assisted him, not long before, to repel a predatory attack of the Afghans. A river rising on the edge of the Deosu runs past Hasora, and then turns south to join that of Muzeffarabad. The united stream flows into the Behut.

Kafalun is a province west of Nobra, on the left bank of the Shayuk: it formerly be-

longed to Ladakh, but was taken possession of by Ahmed Shah. The same was the case with Kartakshe immediately south of Kafalun, along the northward arm of the Sinh-kha-bab. This is also called Kara-tag, Black-mountain, from the dark colour of its hills. The chief village consists of about a hundred houses, and a fort situated on a conical rock close to the right bank of the river, which is crossed by a swinging bridge. Kiris is a small state on the road between Kafalun and Balti, on the right bank of the Shayuk river.

Nagar, or Burshal, is a small state lying on the road from Skardo to Gilgit, and consists chiefly of a valley of about three days' journey in length, and six or eight miles broad. It is watered by a river which joins the river of Gilgit, and on the banks of which stands the town, with a fort as usual upon a hill. Much snow falls and fuel is scarce. The grains reared are wheat and barley; grapes and melons are plentiful and excellent. Gold is found in the river. The people are called Dungars, and the Raja is independent. Beyond Nagar, and nearer to the Pamer mountains, is the district of Hounz, also inhabited

by Dungars. Kanjut is the name of the capital, which is the residence of Selim Shah. From this province a difficult pass leads across the mountains to Badakhshan.

Proceeding to the westward, we come to the district of Gilgit, inhabited by Dardus *. The chief town is situated on a plain, three or four kos broad, and eleven or twelve long. It is bounded by mountains of moderate elevation, well wooded, on which snow rarely lies. The chief town is washed by a river which rises in the Pamer mountains, and after receiving the river of Hounz, falls into the Indus. The town stands on the right bank, and consists of about three hundred houses. The people speak a peculiar language, and are of the Shiah persuasion, mixing the Mohammedan creed with many local superstitions. According to their notions, the races of men, of all at least that they have any knowledge of,—the Tibetans, the Kashmirians, the people to the north-west of Gilgit, and the Dards,—are de-

* Few people can be traced through so long a period in the same place as these, as they are evidently the Dáradas of Sanscrit Geography, and Daradæ, or Daradræ of Strabo. They are also, no doubt, the Kafers of the Mohammedans, although they have of late been nominally converted to Islam.—Ed.

scended from four angels, named Makhpun, Shameru, Khyrullah, and Malika. On his death a Dard goes to heaven; but as the gate is guarded by a Kashmirian, who would probably refuse to admit him, the corpse is provided with a bow and arrows, with which, if necessary, he may fight for entrance. A Dard who can afford it does little bodily labour, but employs for the purpose slaves who have been carried off in some inroads on their neighbours. The chief cultivation is of rice, under the management of Kashmirians. Cotton and silk are reared for domestic use; and a substantial cloth is manufactured, of which the warp is of silk, and the woof of cotton, of wool, or of tus. Shawl-wool comes from Pamer and Yarkand, and tus is obtained in the country. Gold is found in the sands of the river, and gold-dust forms the only currency. The Raja receives a small sum from every one who searches for gold, one-twentieth of the rice-crop, and a present from every man who marries, or who has a child. Grapes are abundant and excellent, and wine is drunk in considerable quantity. There is abundance

of fruit, especially of mulberries, figs, pomegranates, walnuts, and melons.

The same race of people, the Dards, occupy the country to the south-west of Gilgit, or Chilas, also called Dardu Chilas. This is situated in the valley watered by the Gilgit river, and the town stands on the left bank. It consists of about a thousand houses, and contains four forts, each tenanted by a separate chief, who, although absolute over his own personal retainers, is associated with the other three in the government of the state. They pay a nominal obedience to the chief of Gilgit, sending there an annual present. The language and costume are the same as at that place, but Pushtu is generally understood. The Dards were originally Kafers, or infidels, but have latterly professed Mohammedanism: they are, however, but indifferent Mohammedans. The hills that skirt the valley are low and well wooded. The main crop is wheat, rice is not grown. Cotton and silk are reared for home consumption.

Westward from Gilgit is the country of

Chitral, distinguished as Upper and Lower. The latter, which is nearest to the Hindu Kosh, is situated on a river flowing from a lake called Hanu-sar, and ultimately falling into the river of Kabul. The country is rough and difficult. The Mastuch, as the capital is termed in the language of the country, is situated on the left bank of the river. It contains a bazar, with some Hindu shopkeepers, and is as large as Mozeffarabad, containing between four and five hundred houses: slavery prevails here. The people are Dardus and Dungars, and profess the Shiah faith. The Raja, who is a Suni, is known to the Afghans as the Raja of Kator.

The Mastuch, or capital of Upper Chitral, is situated in the same valley as that of Lower Chitral, at about three days' march, and about thirty miles north-west from Gilgit. It stands upon a river, and consists of about four hundred houses, with a fort, on a moderately extensive plain, from whence roads lead to Peshawar, Badakhshan, and Yarkand. The mountains in the neighbourhood are bare, and much snow falls: the

climate, however, upon the whole, is temperate. Some traffic takes place with Badakhshan and Yarkand, whence pearls, coral, cotton baftas, and chintzes, boots and shoes, and metals are imported: horses are also brought, and tea, but the latter is not much in use. The chief return is in slaves, kidnapped from the adjacent districts, or, when not so procurable, the Raja seizes and sells his own subjects. Soliman Shah, the Raja, resides chiefly at Yasin, which is not so large as the capital, but is better situated for the command of the country. He is of the Suni sect, but the people are mostly Shiahs. They are Dungars, and speak the Dardu language, but Persian, Turkish, and Pushtu are generally understood. The men are a tall, athletic race, but exceedingly cowardly. The women are coarse, and by no means reserved in their conduct, to which the men are indifferent. The heads of the Dungars are, in general, of a conical form, it being usual to tie a strong band round the head of an infant soon after birth. West from Yasin is the Darband, or fortified pass, of Chitral. The grains cultivated are wheat and barley. Fruit

is abundant, especially grapes, from which much wine is manufactured. According to tradition Chitral was the Sharáb-khana, or wine-cellar of Afrasiab.

On ascending the Belut Tag mountains towards Badakhshan, the first place of note is Panja, the capital of Wahkam, a district partly subject to Badakhshan, partly to Yarkand. It is situated on the Panj river, the main branch of the Oxus, which rises by two heads, one in the Pamer mountains, and one from the direction of Mastuch. The houses are built of stone, and the town is defended by a stone fort, which successfully resisted an attack of the Chinese. Yaks are common here, as is a race of hardy ponies. The revenue of the chief is principally derived from slaves, who are sold from his own people at his pleasure.

The road to Yarkand proceeds along the Panj river to a large lake, from which it rises. A projecting mountain separates this from the Kara-kol, or black water lake, which is about the size of the Dal of Kashmir, and gives rise to a river that passes by Siri-kol, and joins that of Yarkand. In the

lake is a small islet, on which stands a house decorated after the Tibetan fashion, with yaks' heads and tails on poles, and with flags. According to the belief of the people this islet is the resort of Jins and Peris. Lamps are seen burning upon it, horses are heard to neigh, and the sounds of music are distinguished as from a naubet khana. At times it is dangerous to approach the edge of the lake, as it is displeasing to the mysterious frequenters of the island. Confiding in this superstition the Khaja of Kashkar, retreating from the Chinese, is said to have deposited his treasures in the islet, and they remain there inviolate.

The Kirghiz, who inhabit the Pamer mountains, are a simple and superstitious race. They profess Mohammedanism, but practise few of its precepts. They live in felt tents, and have large flocks of the large-tailed sheep, goats, and yaks, hardy, though small horses, and some camels. Gillim Bai, one of their chiefs, was said to possess from thirty to forty thousand sheep and goats, five hundred yaks, and between two and three hundred camels. He resided in a house sur-

rounded by one hundred cottages of his dependants. The people are easily gratified, and a present of a small quantity of tobacco will readily procure supplies of milk, meat, kaimak, a sort of cream, and felts of their own fabrication. The country abounds with wild goats and deer, the horns of which are turned to various useful purposes.

Sir-i-kol, or the district at the head of a lake, is also the name of a town of about three hundred houses, chiefly inhabited by Tajiks. It is situated on a plain, along which flows the river, with mountains beyond it. On one of these are the remains of a building, said to have been a fort in the days of Afrasiab. The chief town of the district of Sir-i-kol is Tagarma, which, as well as the preceding, is under the authority of the Chinese*.

* Some further information respecting Balti and the adjacent countries has been recently collected by Capt. Wade.—*Journ. As. Society of Bengal*, Nov. 1835; also by Mr. Vigne, who has lately visited Iskardo. See the same Journal for Feb. 1836.—Ed.

CHAPTER VII

First departure from Kashmir—Patan—Ruins—Wular Lake—Explosions—Tomb of Shukar-ad-din—Baramula—Bamba and Khaka Country—Gilgil—Party detained—Return—Second departure—Remains at Khampur—Shupien—Tomb of Shah Hamadan—Pir Panchal Pass—Ridge of Ratan Panchal—Rajaor—Bimber—Jelum—Fort of Rotas—Manikyala—Rawal Pindi—Garden of Wah—Hasan Abdal—Tomb of Baba Wali—Plain of Chach—Indus—Attok—Khairabad—Akora—Duties demanded—Attempt to detain the party—Its failure—Abbas khan of Akora—Battle of Noushehra—Peshawar—Hospitable reception—Mischief done by the Sikhs—Navigation of the Indus—Political Difficulties and Dissensions—Offer of Allegiance—Visit to the Waziris.

After many vexatious delays we accomplished all that was requisite for our further progress, and on the 31st of July we quitted our residence in Kashmir for the purpose of travelling to Bokhara. Our party had been considerably augmented, for besides an addition to our escort, making it thirty in number, we were accompanied by our Ladakh friend, Shah Nyaz Khan, and by Mirza Jawad, a Persian envoy of the King of Ferghana. We were to proceed by water to Baramula, and our flotilla consisted of fourteen boats; our

party comprehended, possibly, the greatest variety of nations that ever marched together, enrolling English, Hindustanis, Gorkhas, Tibetans, Afghans, Persians, Kashmiris, Kurds, and Turks, in its ranks.

The afternoon was far advanced before we started. We passed along the Dragjan canal, and entered the Behut, opposite the north-east angle of the fort of Sher-gerh. As we passed, the fort had as imposing an appearance as possible given to it. The Dewan and his court were in one of the most conspicuous apartments, and sentinels were stationed at most of the windows; the bridges were covered with spectators, and our course was retarded by boats with beggars coming to pray for our welfare, and to solicit a reward for their benedictions. We reached Chatan-bal, just beyond the town, shortly before sunset.

On the 1st of August, leaving the boats to proceed to the village of Patan, we mounted our horses to ride to that point. We had not gone far beyond the position of Shala-ting before our road passed the edge of a swamp, along a narrow ridge of turf, which trembled under the horses' tread; the marsh, however,

had a firm clay bottom, and was the work of a small river, the Haratirth, which must have overflowed its banks higher up in its course, and laid the lower fields under water: a few drains would soon have restored the soil to cultivation, of which we were informed it was once the site. The Haratirth is navigable. We continued close to it till we were on a line, passing between the villages of Shadehpur and Sumbhelpur, when we crossed it by a sanga. About a mile further on we crossed a second stream, and came to Hanjiwar, a large village on its right bank, not far from the edge of the plain. From hence we reached Patan by a rather circuitous route early in the afternoon: we passed on our way a couple of ancient Hindu buildings, similar in style to the remains at Matan, though something ruder, smaller, and much less entire.

A low ridge or platform extends from the south-west of the valley close to Patan. The summit of the platform was a plain which had once been cultivated, as was evident by the remains of canals for irrigation. It was now bare and unproductive. From the top

an extensive and beautiful view was commanded of the valley.

We started in our boats on the morning of the 2nd, after having been tormented through the night by musquitoes, and after passing along the track of the Nambal for about an hour, came upon the line of the Hiratirth river, after it had been joined by the Hanjiwar rivulet: it then takes the name of the Takwala-bal, from a small village of that name. According to the information there received, the river rises about ten miles off, from a spring called Sukh-nag, situated on the southern edge of the valley, in the pergana of Birual. Following the direction of the river, we arrived early at a village and shrine, called Naid Khai, standing amidst much swampy ground, and from hence the same surface continued until we were actually in the Wular Lake, at a part of it called Tsako. The surface of the water was like a green field, with the sinhara plant, and occasionally a few lotuses.

As it was commonly asserted that loud explosions were frequently heard from the hill

on which stood the Ziarat of Shukar-ad-din, we determined to land and visit it. It was with some reluctance that our boatmen consented to row for this point, asserting their apprehension of violent gusts of wind, which, certainly, we were not in trim to encounter. On ascending to the summit of the hill we passed through a ruined door-way to a level platform, on which stood three ill-constructed buildings of wood recently set up. From this a few steps led to the Ziarat of the saint, a small confined chamber, with a tomb covered by wooden lattice-work. Close without, to the westward, were two hovels, one said to have been an ancient mosque, and the other covering a trench, sunk into the rock, just large enough for a man to lie down in. Shukar-ad-din, it is reported, spent twelve years in this hole. A brass-headed pike, said to have been his walking-staff, his koran, and his chaplet of beads of clay, brought from Kerbela, are shown to the people who visit the place of his interment, and who not only press them to their lips with pious fervour, but besmear their faces with sand adhering to a pair of old clogs

which Shukar-ad-din is said to have worn, exclaiming "La Allah il Allah,"—there is no God but God.

There was nothing on the hill that looked like a crater; but the people on the spot asserted their recollection of sudden explosions, in one of which, not very long ago, the door of the Ziarat and one of the windows were torn off. The noise was sudden, but as loud as the report of a cannon, and alarmed the whole neighbourhood. According to the superstitious notions of the Kashmirians, these noises precede and announce some political change. The hill commanded a fine view of the lake and plain of Zeinnagar: a storm had come on, but by keeping within the line of the Sinhara, we rowed along the edge of the Wular without being incommoded, and arrived at Supur in safety a few minutes after sunset.

Having halted during the 3rd at Supur, we proceeded on the next day to Baramula. The channel of the river was winding, but less so than in the higher parts of its course. Above the village of Daba it was joined by the Lalakoal, or Pohru river. Below Baramula, where we anchored, we found ourselves once more

amongst mountains. The distance from hill to hill was not more than three hundred and fifty yards, of which the Behut occupied about seventy. Baramula is situated on the right bank of the Behut, and consists of about two hundred houses, with a bazar and a custom-station: a wooden bridge is laid across the river, but when we saw it one of the piers had been removed, and the communication with the left bank was cut off. Below the town the whole space between the river and the mountains is closed by a wooden rampart and folding gates. In the time of the Afghans a strong guard was posted at this place, and the gateway was kept in good repair. It was now ruinous, but about five hundred Sikh soldiers were quartered in a Dharmasala, an old Ziarat, or Mohammedan shrine, and in a small fort on the left bank of the river, at the head of the bridge. On the same side of the river is another village, that of Jambaspur, where numbers of Hindus come to bathe in the collected waters of the sacred streams of Kashmir. There is little land about the place fit for cultivation, and the hills, although covered with brushwood, bear no trees.

We were detained several days at Baramula in collecting provisions for our route, as a letter from Zabardast Khan, the chief of Muzeffarabad, addressed to Surat Sinh, intimated no disposition to give any orders for our accommodation. The tone, indeed, was so hostile to the Sikhs, that it was evident the Sinh's company could be of no use to us, and might expose him to insult or danger: we therefore dispensed with his attendance, a measure in which he cheerfully concurred, and determined to trust for security to our own character and conduct.

On the 10th of August we resumed our march, proceeding to the south-west along the bed of the river, the current of which became not only much more rapid than on the table-land, but more troubled and impetuous, lamenting, according to the Kashmirians, in foam and clamour, its departure from their beautiful valley. Across it, and close upon our left, a chain of low, but steep hills, running towards the east, left the Behut, skirting a fine plain, bounded by ridges of low hills covered with wood. The scenery was very beautiful, and of the character of that of many

parts of Wales. A village, and the small fort of Fattihgerh, were observable on the plain, at the distance of about a mile and a half. The plain is bounded on the south by hills which approach close to the river, beyond which are the fragments of a ruined wall and gateway. These mark the limits of Kashmir; and the country on the right bank of the river thence belongs to the Bambas, and that on their left to another highland clan, the Khakas. As we proceeded, the valley became more confined, and the thicket which covered the hills descended close to the path: the wild vine, pomegranate, pear, mulberry, raspberry, and blackberry, were in abundance the whole way. There did not appear to be much land in cultivation, and the chief crop seemed to be rice: grass was scarce. We encamped in the shade of some fine elms, near a small village called Paruna, the residence of a Pirzada and his followers.

Early on the 11th we passed the house of Ghulam Ali Khan, the chief of the Khakas, but at that time a prisoner at Lahore. It stood on the left bank of the river, within an enclosure surrounded by a wall and bastions, with

loop-holes for musketry. It was of no great strength. The valley was of irregular width, but in general narrow. In some places the hills approached so near as to give the idea of a passage through a door. The path lay upon a ledge of the mountain, rising perpendicularly from the river, which at some distance below was rushing along with increased and increasing impetuosity. The mountains were granite; they were covered with forests, and several considerable rivulets rushed from their sides into the river. Near the end of the day's route, which terminated at the Manzil Khana of Gilgil, a station where travellers may purchase provisions, we crossed a rivulet coming from the west and north. Not far from its conflux with the Behut it was formed of two branches, the larger and more northerly of which was said to proceed from a large spring which gives rise to two other streams, one taking the direction of the Lala-koal, and the other that of Kathae. The spring is known by the name of Nil-nag, and is held sacred by the Kashmirians. It was said to be twenty kos distant; but the road is circuitous, and the horizontal distance cannot be much more

than eight miles from where we encamped. The chief of the Bambas, Muzeffar Khan, had a house, called Nun Khoa, a short way up the rivulet on its left bank.

Whilst on our march, during the 11th, we observed several small parties of armed men near our road, but had not taken particular notice of them. On arriving at our station, however, we found a considerable number, above a hundred, assembled, whose appearance was not of the most friendly character. From amongst these a person of the name of Nidan Pandit, the agent of the Sultan, came to us, and announced the approach of the Sultan's son, who shortly after came. He was a lad of about twelve or fourteen. In the conversation that ensued, his attendants professed entire allegiance to Ranjit Sinh, and their consequent readiness to promote our objects. They held themselves in some degree responsible for our safety, and could not, therefore, consistently with duty, advise our further progress, as Zabardast Khan, of Muzeffarabad, was in open insurrection, and would, no doubt, offer us some violence. Thanking them for their counsel, we acquitted them of

all responsibility, but announced our determination to proceed. It was then intimated that we must remain where we were until orders could be received from the Khan, who was in the hills; but with this we declined compliance, as expedition was an object of importance, and we saw no necessity for waiting for instructions, which it was evident must already have been received. One of the most important of the persons present, Shir Mahmud, then remarked, that we must pay duty on our goods; with which we professed our willingness to comply to any reasonable extent, and there the discussion rested for the night.

On the following day Shir Mahmud appeared to claim the duties, and for a long time hesitated to state any fixed amount; at last he had the modesty to make a demand of fifteen thousand rupees, as being likely to effect a clearance, and hinted that a refusal to pay the money would be followed by the plunder of our baggage. To resist this our party was drawn up under arms, and an offer of five hundred rupees was made, with a declaration, that if this was not accepted, we should imme-

diately return to Kashmir, as, whilst we admitted we had no right to traverse the district in defiance of the authorities, we stated that we were resolved not to submit to imposition, nor to suffer aggression. Matters remained thus in suspense, the Bambas showing no disposition to accept our terms, nor to proceed to extremities; and it appeared probable that, as they professed to acknowledge the authority of the Sikhs, the interposition of the Dewan of Kashmir might not be without weight. Accordingly the Mirza and Mr. Trebeck mounted their horses and rode off to Kashmir, to apply for the aid of Moti lal, expecting to reach the city by the following evening. At Baramula, however, they were met by Surat Sinh, who had been reprimanded by the Dewan for leaving us, and had been sent after us with all possible expedition, and with orders to accompany us to Muzeffarabad. With him, then, we returned to Tatthamula, the place where our party had remained. Surat Sinh went on to Gilgil. In the evening a letter came to him from Muzeffar Khan, giving up all claim to duties on our merchandise, but refusing to extend the same indul-

gence to the persons who were with us, none of whom, however, had any property subject to duty except, perhaps, Mirza Jawad; and to judge from the bulk of his baggage he could have had nothing of consequence. The general tone of the letter was decidedly unfriendly.

On the 14th Surat Sinh returned, and, from what had occurred, was by no means disposed to augur favourably of the result. The Sultan was almost in a state of rebellion, and Zabardast Khan was declaredly so. He had recently beheaded his wazir, a Sikh who he suspected was in the interest of Ranjit Sinh, had collected about two thousand armed men at Muzeffarabad, and had broken down the bridges on the road. Muzeffar Khan had also about one thousand armed men, and it would have been idle to have attempted to force our way; we therefore decided on returning, and despatched Surat Sinh with a letter to the Dewan, to apprize him of our determination. Our envoy, however, soon surprised us by his reappearance: at Baramula he had been met by two Kasids from Moti Ram, urging us strenuously to come back immediately, and

expressing great alarm at the danger to which we had been exposed. With his injunctions, therefore, we immediately complied, and on the 15th of August arrived at Baramula, on our way back to Kashmir.

In resuming the purpose of departure from Kashmir we had the choice of two routes—one by Prúnch, the other by Rajaor. The former was the more difficult and circuitous, and the country was in an unsettled state, and we therefore made choice of the latter. We awaited, however, the close of the rains, which are very heavy on the borders of the Panjab, and did not, consequently, set out again until the 17th of September: our party was much the same as before.

After crossing the river and passing by Shergerh, we came immediately to the Dudh Ganga, running parallel to the Behut. It then comes from the south, and our road continued at no great distance from its right bank. Our day's march terminated at about four miles from the city, at the ruined Serai of Ali

Maidan Khan, called Kampur or Kanikpur*. The building resembles those of a similar kind in Hindustan, but is very substantially constructed, and although it was now in ruins, it could afford shelter to more than a hundred people.

The adjacent country is one of those elevated platforms or tables which protrude at various places from the bases of the bordering mountains into the valley. These elevations have now the inconvenience of being scantily supplied with water; but this was not the case in the better days of Kashmir, as they were then intersected by canals, of which the remains are still observable. The people in the neighbourhood of the serai were miserably poor, and could furnish us with nothing but fuel. The crops of rice looked well, and were ready to be cut, but none of it could be reaped before the permission of the government was granted, and this was not expected to be given until all the grain of the preceding year, which had been distrained for revenue, had been

* A very ancient city according to the Chronicles of Kashmir. Kanishkapur, founded by Kanishka, a king of the country, four or five centuries before Christ.—Ed.

disposed of at an arbitrary and extravagant price. The effect of these exactions is not only the impoverishment of the people, but their banishment from the country, and they were every day emigrating in considerable numbers. A party of five hundred was to accompany us across the Pir Panchal.

Another short day's march, continuing on the same platform, brought us to another ruined serai, that of Shahji Marg. The inner court of this had been converted by the peasants into a kitchen-garden; but we found protection from the rain in some of the chambers. The situation of the serai was well chosen, and commanded a prospect rarely more pleasing, perhaps, than at the present season; the broad band of rice in the valley below was tinged with yellow, and was agreeably contrasted with the dark green of the groups of trees that concealed the wretchedness of the village.

On the 26th we made a short march to the town of Shupien, where we halted to purchase provisions. In the time of the Afghans it was said to contain above two hundred houses, besides one hundred petty shops. Upon

hearing of the defeat of the Duranis by the Sikhs, the inhabitants fled, and many never returned, so that the place is not half inhabited. It was formerly the residence of three brothers, of the family of the Malik, each of whom received from the governor five hundred loads of paddy annually, and was authorised to levy a tax of one rupee per maund on common merchandise, and two rupees on shawl-goods. One of the brothers, Mahmud Ali, discontented with his situation, materially facilitated the entrance of the Sikhs into Kashmir. If he expected increased power and profit by so doing, he was deservedly disappointed, for the management of the town and district was conferred upon a Sikh who contracted for the revenue: he falling into arrears, was imprisoned and beaten so unmercifully, that he died, and the district is unlet. In the mean time a thannadar and a hundred men are stationed at Shupien.

Having remained a day at Shupien, we proceeded on our journey, and at a short distance came to the Ziarat of Shah Hamadan, remarkable for a large flat stone which it contains, and which is an object of profound ve-

neration to devout Musselmans. It is said that when the saint had arrived on the crest of Pir Panchal, on his way to Kashmir, his horse was too much fatigued to proceed, and the Shah was at a loss what to do. In this dilemma a piece of the rock volunteered to convey him to the plain, and this stone is the carriage that presented itself. Part of it, supposed to be the impression of his foot, has been completely polished by the contact of thousands of the hands and lips of the faithful. Beyond this the road became uneven, and at times difficult, passing between the low hills forming the commencement of the pass. Close below flowed the river of Shoingulu, or Shupien, which rising on the northern slope of the boundary mountains by different rivulets, crossed our path repeatedly, and proceeds from hence through the perganas of Batu, Suprasaman, and Shakuru, to the Behut near Viranag. It was near this place that Jabar Khan, the Afghan general, was posted, with a detachment of horse to oppose the Sikhs. Instead of waiting for their attack he crossed the rivulet, and ascended the heights beyond it to meet them, where his cavalry could not

charge, and were driven back with loss by the fire of the enemy. Farther on we passed through the small and dirty village of Hirapur, where is a custom-house. The path alternated with descents and ascents, but was upon the whole ascending, and along a narrow valley, bounded by steep mountains. We halted at Dubjan, on a level with some recently fallen snow, and on an elevation commanding a view of the valley of Kashmir. Hirapur was the place where the Malik Mahmud Ali was stationed with his soldiers, with whom, instead of resisting, he joined the Sikhs, and acted as their guide. The number of Kashmirians who were to accompany us over the mountains proved here to be no exaggeration, and their appearance, half-naked and miserably emaciated, presented a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation. Yet, wretched as they were, the relentless Sikhs would have levied a pice a head for permission to pass the post, had we not interfered. The Sikhs seem to look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the government, of from sixteen to twenty

rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, and two rupees if he was a Mohammedan. The body of a stout young man, whose throat had been cut, was lying close to the road on one part of this day's journey, and the only notice taken of it was by Mardan Ali, the Malik, who ordered it to be covered with grass, that our porters might not be frightened at the sight. Three other bodies were met with on the route; these were some of the followers of Jawahir Mal, who, to the number of forty-five, it was asserted, had perished in crossing the pass lately, in rough and cold weather, against which they were ill defended by clothing or shelter. Some of the people accompanying us were seized by our Sikhs as unpaid porters, and were not only driven along the road by a cord tying them together by the arms, but their legs were bound with ropes at night to prevent their escape. At Dubjan, Ata Mohammed Khan, governor of Kashmir, encountered the Afghan Wazir, Fateh Khan, and was defeated.

On the following day the road commenced on the slope of a grassy hill, five or six

hundred feet above the rivulet: on our left were two small towers erected as defences by Ata Mohammed; they were named Kamil Koth. Other towers were afterwards passed, all erected by the same person. They were all of a polygonal shape, built of stone, cemented with mud, and faced with mortar, and pierced with loop-holes for musketry. At the close a path of masonry, with a wall on its outer edge, led up the almost perpendicular face of the mountain, called Lala Ghulam, from a slave, whom Ali Mardan is said to have sacrificed here, and interred under the pavement: beyond this we halted, at a serai, less dilapidated than usual, called Aliabad.

About two miles of moderately ascending and winding road brought us, on the 30th, to the crest of the Pir Panchal pass, after leaving, about eight hundred yards below, the most southerly sources of the Shupien river. On the top of the ascent we found a tower and some other small buildings, and poles with votive offerings to the mountain spirits: amongst them were two shawls presented by the Diwan Moti Ram, when he had ascended

the pass on his way to the conquest of Kashmir.

The view from hence to the eastward, or towards Kashmir, was very circumscribed; but in the contrary direction was extensive and beautiful. The atmosphere in the distance was rather heavy, or we might have distinguished the plains of the Panjab over an immense surface, and the windings of the Jelum. A party of Sikhs was stationed in the tower, who ordinarily levy an unauthorised capitation from every person leaving Kashmir, besides plundering him of fuel and provisions.

On the descent the face of the mountain was exceedingly steep and difficult, and except in the line of the path, was often impracticable. After crossing a rivulet we ascended the slope of an inferior ridge, and continued about half way between their base and summit to the village of Poshana, a place consisting of about fifty flat-roofed cottages of wood and mortar, and situated on terraces, closely though irregularly connected with each other. The breadth of the valley from the summit of one ridge to that of the other was not above

a mile. Pir Panchal and the succeeding ridges appear to be granite.

From Poshana the road continued of a similar description, and for part of the way passed through a defile, varying from twenty to thirty yards in breadth: at the end a few cottages constituted the village of Doguren. Above it is a low pointed hill, called Sheikh Kamal, which was crowned by a pile of sticks and rags. Less than a mile beyond this we arrived at the hamlet of Behram Gala, where a Thanna was stationed as a check upon a free-booter in this neighbourhood; in a recent fray with whom the Thannahdar had been severely wounded. A toll is here levied on salt in transport to the northward, at the rate of one rupee for a man's load: the annual produce of this duty is said to amount to two thousand rupees. The rivulet that had been met with on descending the pass here runs off to the west, and after passing the towns of Paunch and Mirpur, enters the Jelum.

Our road on the 2nd of October lay over the ridge of Ratan Panchal, to the south of west from Pir Panchal. The country between these two chains belongs properly to Prunch, or as

the Kashmirians pronounce the name, Pruntz. South of the pass commences the district of Rajaor, a part of which, called Durhal, extends on the east nearly to Pir Panchal. The ascent was easy, and passed through woods of elms, yews, horse-chesnuts, &c.; the view to the south was extensive and rich, presenting a succession of low hills and cultivated valleys: descending the mountains, we entered the district of Thanna, which was well cultivated with crops of rice and maize. The valley is celebrated also for its breed of buffaloes. The people seemed to be better off than the Kashmiris, and in manners and speech belonged to the Panjab: a very large proportion of them spoke the Kashmiri dialect, and it seems not unlikely that they are originally from thence. Kashmirian is the language of the mountaineers of the two Panchals.

The town of Rajaor formed the limit of our next day's march; there was nothing on the road particularly worthy of note. From some spots the whole range of the Ratan Panchal was in sight, and the peaks to the eastward, where they seemed to unite with those of the

Pir Panchal, were much loftier than those near where we had crossed, and were tipped with snow. At Rajaor we were detained four days by Mr. Trebeck labouring under indisposition, which confined him to the house. We were lodged in the Raja's dwelling, a substantial stone edifice, the interior of which had been stripped of everything valuable by the Sikhs. They had also demolished the old wall of the city, which appeared to have been of great solidity. The town stands upon the side of a hill, and along the east runs a small stream, called here the Malkani Tihoï *: on the opposite side was a garden laid out in imitation of Shahlimar, but it had been demolished by the Sikhs. The bazar is small, but clean and well supplied.

The present Raja of Rajaor, Rahim Ullah Khan, was the half brother of the preceding Raja, Agar Ullah, who was now a prisoner at Lahore. Ranjit Sinh had compelled him to join his forces in his first and unsuccessful attack upon Kashmir, the failure of which he ascribed to Agar Ullah's treachery. Ac-

* This is called Makkali in the latest map of this part of the Panjab by M. Court. (*Jour. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, Aug., 1836.) In general, however, the map agrees with our text.—ED.

cordingly, in revenge, he sent an overpowering force against Rajaor; took, and partly destroyed it, and, having captured the Raja, threw him into confinement, and placed his half brother in the Raj. Rahim Ullah was a mild, good-humoured man, and treated us with much kindness.

The country, though fertile, is unhealthy, and fevers are very common: goître and leprosy are also frequent. The staple cultivation is rice.

We quitted Rajaor on the 8th, and proceeded on that and the two following days along the course of the Tihoï. On the 10th we passed the serai of Naushehra, an extensive building of brick, faced at the gateways with stone, and constructed so as to answer the double purpose of a serai and a fort. It was built by the Emperor Akbar, as an inscription on the gateway records, but was now in ruins. Shortly afterwards the Tihoï left us, turning off to the south-south-east, towards the town of Manávar, beyond which, at a distance of four or five kos, it falls into the Chinab.

On the 11th we crossed a ridge of low hills, overspread with jungle amidst which

fir trees were numerous, called the Kaman Ghosha, or, in a place more to the south, the Shamshir-dhar, from the sharpness of the summit compared to the edge of a sword. The ascent was rough and laborious, but not seriously difficult. After descending from this line of hills we came, on the 12th, to a similar range, called the Ali Dhak, or Katse-dhar hills. From hence a third low chain was visible, of a height not sufficient to intercept the boundless plain which lay beyond it, and afforded us the interesting prospect of the wide and fertile level of Hindustan, the termination of which seemed lost in the misty atmosphere, which hung as a pale dull curtain in the horizon. Descending the Katse-dhar we crossed a sandy plain to the town of Bimber.

The town of Bimber may be considered as the head of a small Raj of that name, which extends some distance beyond Naushehra Serai. Its whole length does not exceed twenty-five kos. It is bordered to the north and north-east by Rajaor, to the east by the district of Pauni Bharák, to the south by Kotta and Jelalpur, and to the west by the

petty chiefship of Khari Khariali. It contains three towns, Bimber, Samani, and Mangal-devi. The latter lies eight kos east of Naushehra, and is the station of a strong Sikh Thanna. The people of the country are called Chibs, and were formerly Hindus, but now mostly profess Mohammedanism: those who are Hindus intermarry with the Mohammedans. The ruler, Sultan Khan, was a faithful adherent of the Afghans, and when Ranjit first attempted the invasion of Kashmir he met with a spirited resistance from the Bimber chief, and sustained a considerable loss before his superior strength effected the subjection of the district, and the capture of its ruler. After a short interval Ranjit set Sultan Khan at liberty, and restored to him the town of Samani; but he was again induced to join the Afghans, and, being unsupported by them, again became the prisoner of the Sikhs. Ranjit Sinh, however, persisted in his liberal policy, and, after detaining him some time at Lahore, gave his prisoner liberty, and replaced him in possession of a moiety of his domains. Sultan Khan has since continued obedient to his victor. He

lives near Samani, and enjoys a revenue of sixty thousand rupees. The ancient town was at the foot of a low hill, to the northward of the present. It was deserted soon after the reign of Mohammed Shah, and the remains of its buildings are distinctly traceable. The present town contains about one thousand houses, low, and flat-roofed: about one hundred and fifty are shops, but the bazar is of no great importance. A rivulet runs past the town, and falls into the Jelum about four or five kos lower down.

The Raj presents a considerable extent of flat, uncultivated land, rich in grass fit for the scythe: no use, however, is made of it. The spring crop is of wheat and barley, that of autumn of maize and millet; but the cultivation is scanty, as the country is thinly peopled. Hawking is a favourite amusement both here and at Rajaor, and game of every kind is abundant. This might be expected from the face of the country, which consists of low hills overrun with jungle. From the same cause malaria prevails, and fevers of every type are common, affecting even animals, if current report can be believed.

We quitted Bimber on the 15th, and proceeded over a level country, dry and sandy, or, in those parts which were cultivated, a mixture of clay and sand. The crops were bajra and cotton, with a small quantity of maize and pulse. Water is almost entirely raised from wells by a clumsily-constructed Persian wheel. The people of the country were Mohammedans, but at the village of Bhalani, where we halted, they were Hindu Rajputs, and were idle, inhospitable, and arrogant.

On the following day, October 16th, we marched to the left bank of the Jelum, Behut, or Hydaspes. Where we crossed it it was about one hundred and fifty yards broad, but a few paces both above and below the ghât its width was at least six hundred. In the rains it spreads over a much more considerable expanse. It was flowing at the rate of a mile an hour, and its water, though slightly turbid, was cool and well tasted, and it contains a quantity of fish, the Masahar, Rohu, and others common in Hindustan: it is haunted, also, by alligators. The Jelum is navigable from hence to the Indus. We found several boats

at the river-side large enough to carry across five or six horses with their loads at a trip, but ill provided with oars, and sails seem to be unknown. The soundings where we crossed were from two to two fathoms and a half. After crossing the river, and traversing a dry, sandy channel, filled by it in the rainy season, we came to the town of Jelum; a town something larger than Bimber, but worse provided with a market and accommodation. The only good workmen are boat-builders, who fit the planks together with great nicety. A small mud fort near the town is the station of a Sikh Thana.

At the time of our arrival at Jelum, Ranjit Sinh was in the field preparing to march, it was said, towards the Indus. Surat Sinh, who had accompanied us, went off to procure the requisite passports, and several days elapsed before he returned. We were then delayed by difficulties in procuring cattle and carriage, and it was not till the 13th of November that we were able to resume our journey.

The Jelum is navigated upwards to Oin, in the direction of Muzeffarabad, which is

said to be eighty kos distant; from thence to Baramula, where it leaves Kashmir, its course is about thirty more. Oin is a village on the left bank, forty-three kos from Jelum, to which boatmen repair from the latter place to procure timber, especially that of the Deodar, brought down by the current from Kashmir. The trunks of the trees are formed first into small, and, as they descend, into larger rafts, guided by poles and paddles. A practicable road runs along both sides of the river, although, in some places, it runs between steep hills. Dan Gali, twenty-four kos from Jelum, on the right bank, was the capital of the Ghikar chief, who protected Humayun Shah in his flight to Persia from the pursuit of his victorious rival, Shir Shah. The site of the ancient town is designated by extensive ruins, but, apparently, none of any architectural merit. The present residence of the chief of the Ghikars is Khanpur, about thirty kos south-west from Muzeffarabad. The latter is forty kos from Baramula, and is situated on an eminence about two kos to the north of the Behut, and east of the Muzeffarabad or Hasora river, which falls into

the former near this place. It is little inferior in size to the Behut at their point of junction. It is called in our maps the Kishen Ganga, but I could not learn that it was known by this appellation in the countries through which it flows, where it is commonly termed the Hasora, or Muzeffarabad river. It was formerly crossed by a substantial sanga, but this has been destroyed, and a bridge of ropes substituted; but inflated skins form a much more convenient and safe mode of effecting a passage. The town of Muzeffarabad consists of above three thousand houses, built in the same fashion as those of Kashmir, and by Kashmirian artists. The streets are narrow and dirty, but the bazar is well supplied. The town is defended by a fort, one angle of which abuts upon the left bank of a curve of the river, but it is situated low, and commanded by neighbouring heights. Lofty mountains rise not far from the town to the northward, and the snowy summits of the Pir Panchal range, and of the most elevated parts of Karnao are in sight. The boundary of the Muzeffarabad country is between that town and Gerhi Sadet Khan,

five kos to the west, which belongs to Damtaur.

The population of Jelum is mostly Mohammedan, and the people, though much intermixed with the Kashmirians, were much darker and worse looking. Disease was extremely prevalent: fevers are common here, as in the neighbouring districts, in spring and autumn, and leprosy was very extensive. Disorders of the alimentary canal and calculus were also exceedingly common. The face of the country is much broken by ravines and irregular ridges. The soil is clay, much intermixed with sand, and the chief crops are wheat and barley: cotton is also cultivated.

Leaving Jelum on the 13th of November, we marched across a cultivated plain in a north-westerly direction, to the foot of the mound on which stands the celebrated fort of Rotas, and traversed a narrow stony defile with the fort close on the left, the base of the walls being about sixty or seventy feet higher than the pathway. The killadar refused to admit us to see the fortress; but riding along its western face, we found several practicable

breaches in the walls, by one of which we ascended and entered an abandoned outwork. The structure was found to be most massive, the walls, of stone cemented with mortar, being in some places thirty feet thick. They were crenated throughout, and provided with a double row of loop-holes. The outwork we had scaled seemed intended to protect an immense bhauli or well of masonry. Passages of great breadth wound round it to the bottom, communicating with it by arched openings into its sides, and they led to the water's edge in so many places, that from fifty to a hundred persons might draw water at once. From this spot we entered into the body of the fort, and ascended the highest part of the parapet without attracting observation. The interior of the fort extends about two miles and a half. It is of a long, narrow form, and its two sides and eastern end rest upon the edges of ravines which separate it from a table-land of equal elevation as the hill on which it stands. The western face of the hill has the Gham rivulet running along its foot, the bed of which abounds with quicksands, and must be dangerous to ford, at least in the

rains. The Sikhs have erected a small mud fort within the principal gateway. Near the fort are a serai, said to have been constructed by Aurangzeb, and a garden enclosed by a wall, attributed to Shir Shah. There was formerly a Persian inscription over one of the gateways of Rotas, recording the date of its construction by Shir Shah, and denouncing an imprecation upon any of his successors who should suffer it to fall into decay. Zeman Shah, it is reported, took offence at the tenor of the inscription, and commanded it to be effaced. The fort is said to have been erected by Shir Shah to curb the predatory incursions of the Ghikars.

Our road during the next four days lay over a rough and broken country, which may be regarded as generally a sandy plain, perpetually intersected by deep and irregular dry watercourses and ravines. Occasionally villages and cultivation were passed, but not of any great extent; the only trees visible were the mimosa and beir; but there was abundance of brushwood and jungle. On the 18th we diverged a short way from our route, in order to visit the Tope of Manikyala, which we

found to correspond with the description given by Mr. Elphinstone, except that it was much more decayed. We could gain no satisfactory information of its origin, but it has not at all the character of a Grecian edifice. It has a much greater resemblance to the monumental structures of the Tibetans. The people ascribe it to superhuman beings, and one man pointed out some large stones which he conceived could not have been raised into their actual position by merely mortal strength. They were, however, but pebbles compared with the blocks we had seen in the ruined buildings of Kashmir, and the workmanship was equally inferior.

The village of Manikyala, so named, it was said, from a prince Manik, is situated about four hundred yards to the north. The people universally asserted that this had been the site of an immense city, according to some, extending from beyond Rawal Pindi to Rotas. This, however, applied probably to the district, not to the city. They stated that old wells are often discovered over a wide surface; that fragments of old pottery are abundant; and that ancient coins are frequently

found. They brought us two small copper coins, but they had Arabic letters, too much worn to be deciphered, but sufficiently distinct to be recognised as Arabic.

Beyond Manikyala, to the north-eastward, was an old building like a fort, which was the ancient burial-place of the Ghikar chiefs. Sultan Sarang, one of their most celebrated rulers, is interred on the outside. It is a substantial edifice, surmounted by a dome, within which were the tombs of his descendants, covered by slabs of an orange-coloured marble, but almost concealed by dirt and the dung of the pigeons, martins, and swallows, that are the only frequenters of the cemetery. There are a number of graves within the inclosure, but none of note, nor were there any inscriptions. The Ghikars are not numerous now in this part of the country, though they are said to have occupied the whole tract between the Indus and the Jelum. One of their chief cities, Pharwala, was about five kos north-west from this place, on the left bank of the Sewan. Its inhabitants are but imperfectly subjected to the power of Ranjit Sinh. A vast proportion of the population of these dis-

tricts consists of emigrants from Kashmir. On the 19th we halted at the town of Rawal Pindi.

Rawal Pindi is a town of considerable size, containing a number of low mud-houses with flat roofs, and a large but irregularly-built bazar. It owes its importance to its having been selected by Shah Sujah for the residence of his family, and of Zeman Shah, whilst he engaged in the contest with Shah Mahmud for the throne of Cabul. A rather large but ill-built mansion was raised for their accommodation. It appears to be of brick without plaster, and forms a conspicuous object. From the number of persons who accompanied the family Rawal Pindi became a place of some demand for grain and merchandise, and it is now the chief mart for the trade between Amritsar and Peshawar. It is chiefly supported by its commerce, for the agriculture of the adjacent lands has been ruined by exorbitant taxation. A few years since the annual revenue raised from them was three lakhs of rupees; it is now less than one. There were a great number of Peshawaris in the town, and the general impression amongst them was

that our journey had a political bearing. It was reported that Shah Sujah had engaged to give the British government six anas in the rupee of his revenues, on their reinstating him in his kingdom. The state of affairs beyond the Indus seemed, from all accounts, to be bad enough, and not much better in Turkistan. Our information on the latter head was derived from a Hindu goldsmith of Potonhar, who had just returned from Transoxiana. It is a curious fact, that three or four hundred persons of this trade and persuasion pass backwards and forwards between the Panjab and the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes. In the latter countries they are employed in working in the precious metals, which they manage to alloy, so as to realise a considerable profit in addition to their fair earnings. In three or four years they return to their homes with the money they have thus acquired.

Leaving Rawal Pindi on the 21st, we traversed the same description of country to which we had been accustomed, to the ascent and pass of Mar-gala—a paved road over a range of low hills covered with bushes of aca-

cia and long grass. The road through the gala or gorge is six or seven yards broad, is strongly, though not neatly paved, and at the end is cut about five feet into the rock. The latter, as well as the pavement, is a bluish or grey limestone. A strong revetment of masonry defends each side of the work, and an inscription, on a block of stone, records its completion in the Hijra year 1083. The length of the pavement is about two hundred paces less than a mile from the descent; the road crosses a small stream, the Kalapani, by a substantial stone bridge.

On the march of the 23rd our attention was attracted by a curious bhauli of singular depth. It was strongly faced with brick and mortar, and consisted of a small structure in the form of a parallelogram, serving as a vestibule to the well, having a small recess on either hand, and a flight of steps leading to a terraced roof. From this a passage led down to the well by one hundred and seventeen steps, nine feet broad, with several landing-places, the lower of which was below the level of the well, and communicated with it by an aperture six feet

high. The upper part of the well was separated from the passage by a thick wall. The well was ten feet nine inches in diameter, and thirty-six yards deep, and the passage came to within three yards of the bottom. To prevent the sides of the passage from giving way, it contained four substantial partitions resembling transoms of a gun-carriage, and consisting of a succession of arches, built one within the other; the two lowest partitions rested each upon a strong wooden beam, though they were secured by the same arrangement as the others. The well was lined by a coat of excellent plaster. Adjoining the mouth of the well, which was quite open and without any parapet, was a strong semicircular platform edged by a low wall, and intended apparently as a walk for cattle employed in drawing water from the well. It was supposed to be a work of the reign of Akbar. From hence the Hazara country was distant about twenty miles horizontally to the north-east, and farther off were mountains covered with snow. A lofty hill, about twelve miles off, north by west, was said to be the

strong hold of a tribe of Ala Zeis, called Khar-baris, whose chief, Shir Zaman, had lately provoked the resentment of Ranjit Sinh.

Advancing across a low ridge of hills, we came to a plain in which stood the village of Wah, and an extensive garden, in the usual Mohammedan style, constructed by order of the Emperor Akbar, on the site of an old serai, the beauty of which drew from the monarch the exclamation, "Wah bagh!" whence the name of the new pleasure-ground originated. It covers a space about a quarter of a mile in length, and half that in breadth, enclosed by walls partly in ruins. The gateways and turrets that were constructed along the boundary-wall are also mostly in a ruinous condition. The eastern extremity is occupied by two large stone-walled tanks; the western by parterres, and they are divided by a building which served as a pleasure-house to the Emperor and his household. It was too small for a residence, consisting of a body and two wings, the former containing three long rooms, and the latter divided into small chambers. The interior of the whole is stuccoed, and in the smaller apartments the walls are decorated

with flowers, foliage, vases, and inscriptions, in which, notwithstanding the neglected state of the building, and its antiquity, the lines of the stuccoed work are as fresh as if they had but just been completed, indicating a very superior quality in the stucco of the east over that of the west. The chambers in the southern front of the western wing, and others continued beyond it, constitute a suite of baths, including cold, hot, and medicated baths, and apartments for servants, for dressing, and reposing, heating-rooms and reservoirs: the floors of the whole have been paved with a yellow breccia, and each chamber is surmounted by a low dome with a central skylight. Fresco paintings of flowers and foliage in compartments embellish the walls, and unless injured by mechanical violence, the colouring has lost little of its original lustre. Although possessing nothing majestic or imposing, the baths at Wah bagh must have been both commodious and elegant. The water, which was supplied from the reservoirs first noticed, is clear and in great abundance. It comes from several copious springs at the base of some limestone hills in the neighbour-

hood, and, after feeding the tanks and canals of the garden, runs off with the Dhamrai river that skirts the plain on the north and west.

Between this and the Serai of Hassan Abdal the valley is somewhat contracted, although the hills are low: at the foot of one of these is the tomb of the saint from whom the place is named*, and who is also known by the more familiar denomination of Baba Wali. It is a square building, containing a tomb of marble, and standing in a walled court. The two old cypresses noticed by Mr. Elphinstone still formed its only ornaments: they were of a variety not common in this part of the country. Beyond the tomb was a spot on the edge of a rill, trickling from a block of stone, supposed to have been sanctified by a miracle wrought there by Nanak, the founder of the Sikh faith. Nanak coming to the place fatigued and thirsty, thought he had a claim upon the hospitality of his brother ascetic, and invoked the spirit of Baba Wali for a cup of water. The Moham-

* Hasan, the Mad. Abdal being the Pashtu term for mad, according to Mr. Elphinstone: the insanity intended was of a religious character.—Ed.

medan saint, indignant at the presumption of an unbeliever, replied to his application by throwing a stone at him of several tons weight. Nanak caught the missile in his hand, and then placed it on the ground, leaving the impression of his fingers upon its hard substance: at the same time he commanded water to flow from it, and this constituted the rill here observable, along which were a number of Sikh fanatics who had come in pilgrimage. This story is curious, not only as a specimen of the credulity of the people, but as the probable invention of a very recent date. A few years only have elapsed since the place was in the possession of the Afghans, whose fierce Mohammedanism would have tolerated no Sikh pilgrims nor shrines within their boundary.

After quitting the tomb of Baba Wali, the road crossed the course of the Dhamrai rivulet, and shortly afterwards that of the Haru, a stream flowing into the Indus, and formed of five smaller streams, the Kalapani, which we had before met with, joining the Dhamrai: the latter rising from the pass between Shaladatta and Khanpur, flows along the north

of the garden of Wah, and is increased by a number of small springs issuing from the garden. After it is joined by the Kalapani it receives the miraculous rivulet of Hassan Abdal, which rises at about five kos off to the east. A more considerable stream, the Nilab, rises from the hills to the northward of Khanpur, and after running for some distance, joins the main stream of the Haru, coming from the north. Their united current meets the trunk of the other three streams, opposite to the large village of Burhan, and the whole then flows westerly to the Indus, below the fort of Attok. It runs in a deep hollow with considerable impetuosity: when we forded it, it was knee deep, and above twenty yards across: in the rains it fills the hollow, of which it now only occupied a small portion.

After crossing some broken and irregular ground, with alternate hillocks and deep ravines, we came to the level plain of Chach. We passed several villages, and encamped at the small town of Hydro, or Hazro, where there was a bazar. Much cotton of a tolerably good quality is grown in the neighbourhood. There was not much land in cultiva-

tion in any part of the plain, and it was covered by a coarse grass, amidst which rat-holes were infinitely numerous. The villages were generally perched upon low mounds, and were the more conspicuous, that few trees were to be seen. At the end of the plain we skirted the base of a low rough chain of hills, and once more beheld the Indus; a very different stream from that with which we had been so well acquainted in Ladakh. It was separated by a flat, grassy island, into two large streams, the nearest of which occupied the farther part of a bed of six hundred yards in breadth, the nearest portion of which consisted of fine glistening sand. The other branch was concealed by the islet. Hardly a tree was to be seen upon the broad level along which the river flowed, and the turf of the adjacent plain had assumed a brown hue. The hills were stony, and though sprinkled with bushes of the byre, had the appearance of being entirely bare. The aspect of the gateway to Hindustan gives but little promise of the richness of the country to which it leads. We halted on the 26th at the serai of Attok, a building of considerable extent, built

of stone chiefly, with a terraced roof; the cells are more capacious than usual. A well-built mosque stands in the centre of the court, which is now used only as an additional accommodation for travellers. The serai is separated from the fort by little more than a ravine.

An order from Ranjit Sinh procured us admission into the celebrated fortress of Attok, but we were not allowed to see much of its interior. Proceeding from the serai to the gateway on the north, along a perfectly good road, unprovided with any defences, we entered into a small projecting court, about twenty yards long, in which Suja-al-mulk was confined by Jehandad Khan, after he was driven from Afghanistan. From hence we passed through another gate into the bazar, a narrow lane of shops, chiefly for the sale of provisions, and along this we were conducted to the opposite or southern gateway, which opened upon the side of the hill immediately above the ferry over the Indus. The gates of the fort are lofty and large, and the walls are of the same description as those of Rotas, thick, crenated, and pierced with loopholes·

the direction of the bazar is parallel with the river, and the bazar is four hundred paces long: between it and the river front are houses, and at the south-west angle a bastion projects into the stream: on the side of the bazar, farthest from the river, the fort contracts and extends in the form of an irregular parallelogram, about five hundred yards to the east. The interior is discernible from the right bank of the river, and the eastern end is commanded by hills of greater elevation than that on which it stands. Opposite to its southern face, and divided from it by a ravine which descends to the bank of the river, stands a petty village, on a level with the gateway. On the right bank of the river, and within musket-shot of the southern postern of the fort, is the village of Khairabad, defended on the west by a mud redoubt, and by several small stone buildings, intended as stations for infantry, erected on different points of a ridge of low hills, about a hundred yards to the westward; the most remote is within the range of artillery from the fort, and perfectly commands the latter. This is the case, however, with even the road to Peshawar, on the Khai-

rabad side, and it would not be necessary to erect batteries on the hills. The fort of Attok, however impregnable it may be to Sikhs or Afghans, could oppose no resistance whatever to European engineers.

The Indus enters the plain of Chach in a direction east by north. It is crossed both above and below the fort: at the ferry of the latter it was about a hundred yards across*; at the former it was something less. The current ran at the rate of about three miles an hour. Near the bank the soundings were two fathoms, and five near the centre. The direction of the river past the fort was south, 20 west; but six hundred yards below Attok it took a turn to the east: on the right bank, at the place where it turns, is the rock of Jelalia, and opposite to it that of Kamalia, between which is said to be a dangerous whirlpool: they offered little remarkable in their appearance, being composed, like the banks of the river and the neighbouring hills, of a

* Lieut. Burnes estimated it at one hundred and twenty yards. Mr. Elphinstone calls it two hundred and sixty. These differences are easily reconcilable with reference to the different periods of the year. Mr. Trebeck crossed in November, Lieut. Burnes in March, and Mr. Elphinstone in June.—ED.

blue slaty rock, darkened and polished by the action of the current.

We had pitched our tents at the foot of the hills, to the west of Khairabad. These were much broken at their bases by ravines, crossed in some instances by structures, of which some broken arches remain, and which are said to be the ruins of an aqueduct, constructed by Nadir Shah, for the supply of a town which he commanded to be built on the right bank of the Indus: no other vestiges of this place, called Nadirabad, after its founder, were discovered.

On the morning of the 29th Gholam Mohammed Khan, who had been deputed to Peshawar, returned with letters from Yar Mohammed Khan, accompanied by two persons, Sheikh Mohi-ad-din and Abdul Hak Khan. The letters of the chief, and the language of his envoys, were as friendly as could have been expected, and, to judge from appearances, our journey to Peshawar had nothing in it to occasion anxiety or fear. We were given to understand, however, that a report had been spread of our having with us merchandise of immense value, and that we

were prepared to repeat the profuse liberality of the British embassy. In short, that unless very large sums were promised to Yar Mohammed and his principal courtiers, we must expect no security for our property or our persons. It was therefore necessary to be explicit, and it was only after having fully explained our situation and views to the Sheikh and his companion, and received from them the most solemn assurances of safe conduct, that we ventured to proceed towards Peshawar.

Various circumstances retarded our advance, and we quitted Khairabad only on the 6th of December. The country belonged to the Khataks, whose chief, Abbas Khan, had only recently returned from Lahore, where he had been to tender his allegiance to Ranjit Sinh. We were assailed by various reports of the predatory habits of this person and of his people, and were assured that he had been encouraged by Ranjit to oppose impediments to our journey, if not actually to plunder us. Some intimation of such a purpose showed itself in the pass of Gidar Sali, where a number of persons rolled down stones from the

tops of the hills upon our foremost cattle. A few men with muskets sent up to the summit caused them to disappear, and we met with no further obstruction until we reached Akora, the capital of the district, a town of some extent, surrounded by a mud wall, and situated on the southern bank of the river of Kabul. On our approach a large crowd was observed near the gate, leaving the way clear for us to enter; but feeling ill-assured of the prudence of trusting ourselves within the place, we made a détour round it, and encamped at some distance to the west. We were soon surrounded by a number of spectators, including many armed horsemen, who frequently gave us welcome with the cry of "Khush amdeh aid, mulk-i shuma ast," at the same time riding round us en caracole, brandishing long spears, and firing matchlocks. No Abbas Khan made his appearance, although we knew he had returned to his house. His Naib, or deputy, came in his stead, who intimated some expectation of our paying duties, or a commutation of them, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand rupees: he forbore, however, to press the subject, and after his

departure, sent to say that none would be levied; but he expressed a hope that we would remain where we were until his chief could visit us; with which we civilly declined compliance.

Upon loading our cattle on the following morning, we saw a small body of horsemen assembled on the line of our route, and a message was sent to us from the Naib, forbidding our advance, on pain of being immediately attacked. To this we determined to pay no regard; but before we moved the strength of the party had increased to about two hundred horse, and one hundred foot, whilst a mob of seven or eight hundred had issued behind us from the town. We nevertheless commenced our march, dividing our small party into two bodies, one in advance, and the other in the rear, with the camels and baggage in the centre. The road was intersected by a ravine, which about seventy or eighty of the Khatak infantry were detached to occupy; but the head of our party gained the edge of it at the same time, and threatening, if they were opposed, to open a fire upon the Khataks, from a small piece of ordnance with the

advance, they retired with great precipitation upon a body of horsemen in their rear. The Naib now joined us, and again urged our awaiting the visit of Abbas Khan; but finding us determined to proceed, he at last consented to order off his men, and to accompany us to the border, on condition of our halting there till the following morning. To this we consented, and the Khataks were withdrawn. We had scarcely marched two miles, however, before the horsemen were again in our neighbourhood; sent, the Naib protested, merely to reconnoitre, as a party of Peshawar cavalry was reported to be on the frontier. Seeing that we were rather incredulous, he left us to order his men, as he pretended, to a greater distance, and we saw no more of him or of his followers. One only of his servants attended us across the boundary, to whom, at his request, we gave a certificate addressed to Ranjit Sinh, that we had passed through the district without loss of property or reputation. A letter from Abbas Khan was received on the following day, disavowing the menacing conduct of his people, and hoping I would forgive it, as "he had well rubbed their ears."

Before dismissing Abbas Khan the opportunity may be taken of narrating some events which took place shortly after our encounter with him, and which are illustrative of the manners of him and of his countrymen. His allegiance to Ranjit Sinh was a measure distasteful to his tribe, and Khoshal Khan, the Khan of the Southern Khataks, in particular reprobated his conduct. There had been previous disagreement between the chiefs of Tiri and Akora, but it was supposed that they had been put to rest by the marriage of Khoshal Khan with the sister of Abbas Khan. Some dissensions, also, that had occurred between Khoshal Khan and his bride had been amicably adjusted, and he was invited to Akora to partake of the festivities of a hunting party. He accepted the invitation, and, with a few attendants, repaired to Akora, where he was received with great apparent cordiality. At the first hunting excursion, however, he was assailed by armed men employed by Abbas Khan, and slain. The chief of Akora marched, after one day's interval, to surprise Tiri; but the news of the murder of Khoshal

Khan preceded him, and enabled the widowed mother of the Tiri chief to close the gates of her fort against the enemy, and summon Nadir Ali Khan, the chief of the Bungush tribe, and her husband's brother, to her defence. Nadir Ali had formerly killed Arsillah Khan, the elder brother of Khoshal Khan, but his offence was seemingly forgotten in the occasion that recommended his alliance. Abbas Khan was unequal to contend with the Southern Khataks and the Bungushes, and was recalled to Akora by advice that Yar Mohammed Khan was marching against it. On his departure the mother of Khoshal Khan accused her daughter-in-law of having been a party to her son's murder, and, accordingly, put her to death. Entertaining suspicions, also, of Nadir Ali's designing to retain possession of Tiri, she had him assassinated whilst at evening prayer. Yar Mohammed Khan easily took Akora, and Abbas Khan was compelled to seek protection at the court of Ranjit Sinh *.

* Akora, which Mr. Elphinstone calls a large town, and which, from the account of our travellers, must have had a considerable population, was nearly deserted when visited by Lieut. Burnes.—Ed.

After quitting the neighbourhood of Akora our route lay along the right bank of the river of Kabul for some distance, approaching the angle of its course, in which was situated the village of Noushehra, remarkable as the site of the recent engagement, the result of which had placed Peshawar at the mercy of the Sikhs. The success of Ranjit Sinh on this occasion was owing not so much to his superior conduct and the gallantry of his troops, as to the unseasonable parsimony and unaccountable inertness of the Afghan ruler, Mohammed Azim Khan. Twenty thousand mountaineers had been levied by the influence of their Pir-zadas, and were encamped on the left bank of the river, whilst Azim Khan, with the regular Afghan army, was stationed on the right bank. Leaving a few men to keep this force in check, Ranjit Sinh crossed the river, and, with his main strength, fell upon the Ghazis, as they were termed, volunteers in holy warfare. Although defrauded of their promised pay, and left without supplies of provision, the Ghazis met the attack with extreme bravery, and would have probably won the

day had not the Sikh's disciplined regiments stood firm, or had Azim Khan acted vigorously in their support. Notwithstanding they were defeated with great slaughter, their leader, Pir-zada Mohammed Akbar, proposed to renew the conflict on the following day; but Mohammed Azim broke up his camp in the night, and fell back upon Peshawar. The Ghazis then reluctantly dispersed *.

From the neighbourhood of the scene of this action the road turned off to the south, to the village of Pir Piai, where we were received with much cordiality by Nur Mohammed Khan, the manager, a grandson of the celebrated Jehan Khan, the general of Ahmed Shah. He accompanied us on the rest of the way to Peshawar, and amused himself and his companions by reciting Persian verses. An aged Mohammedan of our party was somewhat scandalised by finding some liquor stronger than water in a vessel from which the Khan had just allayed

* Further particulars of this battle may be found in Conolly's *Journey Overland to India*, and Prinsep's *Life of Ranjit Sinh*.—Ed.

his thirst. The road to the city passed over a tolerably level and cultivated plain. Towards the end of the march we passed the remains of the wall of the ancient city of Shahabad upon our right, and encamped, on the evening of the 8th, at the village of Jehangirabad. The plain bore many marks of the devastations committed by the Sikhs in their late operations against Peshawar. On the morning of the 9th we advanced to the city, being met on the way by Pir Mohammed Khan, the younger brother of Yar Mohammed. We were conducted to him by Abdul Hak, and found him on foot at the end of a lane formed by a body of above three hundred horsemen, on the right and left of the road. Having alighted and saluted him, the whole remounted, and advanced together. A party of foot, armed with heavy matchlocks, and dressed in green caps, orange jackets, and black trowsers, preceded us. The cavalry followed: they were variously accoutred and armed, but, for the most part, well mounted. Whilst yet at some distance from the city the crowd of spectators was very considerable, but when

we came near it was almost impossible to make way, and the tops of houses and walls, and all the trees, were covered with people. At last we were relieved from this scene of dust and confusion by arriving at the house destined for our reception, the residence of the late Akram Khan. The floor of the principal apartment was covered with a rich Persian carpet, and felts were arranged round the room; trays of sweetmeats were handed to us, and Mohammed Khan took leave. At night a plentiful dinner was sent to us, and a breakfast the next morning, and several days elapsed before we could excuse ourselves from receiving such marks of hospitality. Our reception by the Duranis formed a striking contrast with that we had experienced from the Sikhs, who, whilst professing equal cordiality, omitted no opportunity of annoying us, and perpetually gave occasion to sentiments of suspicion and mistrust.

The city of Peshawar, and plain in which it is situated, have been so fully and accurately described by Mr. Elphinstone, that it is not necessary to attempt any detailed account of either. Both, however, had much

fallen off since his visit, in consequence of civil dissensions and hostilities with Ranjit Sinh. Many of the houses of the city were untenanted and in ruins, and in the plain very many of the villages were deserted, and extensive tracts of rich land were uncultivated. In the immediate vicinity of the town the Sikhs had inflicted more mischief than many years' labour could remedy, by destroying gardens and orchards, and demolishing the wells and channels of irrigation. The Bala Hisar, which, at the time of the British embassy, was the occasional residence of the king, and in which their audience took place, was now a heap of rubbish, and the only use made of it by the rulers of Peshawar was as a quarry from whence to procure materials for dwellings of their own erection. Even Kashmir, miserable as it was, was not so desolate as the vicinity of Peshawar, not because it was better governed, but because the people had less facility of escaping from the rapacity of their rulers, and because it was less exposed to the evils of war.

In times of tranquillity, and under an en-

lightened government, Peshawar is admirably situated for an *entrepôt* of commerce between the British settlements of India and the countries north of the Hindu Kosh. From British India it is accessible not only by land but by the Indus, the navigation of which, although little known to Europeans, as it has not been attempted by them since the days of Nearchus, is perfectly practicable for boats of considerable burden. From the sea to Attok there is no obstruction of any importance, and the water-carriage continues not only along the main stream some way above that fort, but, by means of the river of Kabul, to within five kos of the city of Peshawar, at a place called Sahiba Patar, where Afghans going on pilgrimage to Mecca usually embark. They reach Karachi Bandar in a month. The advantageous position of Peshawar for the commerce of Khorasan and Peshawar has been noticed by others, but the availability of the upper part of the Indus for this object has been unknown or overlooked, and it seemed, therefore, of importance to ascertain the fact *. As affecting

* Mr. Moorcroft furnishes many details, and he is entitled to

the character of Peshawar as a commercial station, it may be right to observe that the objections founded on the extent and influence of the swampy ground in its neighbourhood have been unnecessarily strong. We saw no swamp which might not be easily drained, and of which the recovery would not amply remunerate the cost.

The aggressions of a foreign enemy were not the only source of suffering to the people, but the dissensions of their rulers aggravated the disorder of the country. Mutual jealousies and disputes for authority estranged the numerous members of the Barikzye family from each other, and weakened the power which they had usurped on the downfal of the descendants of the Abdali. Besides those who were engaged in contending for supremacy at Kabul, or in its dependencies, there were at Peshawar four of the brotherhood, Yar Mohammed, Sultan Mohammed, Syed Mohammed, and Pir Mohammed, who shared amongst

the merit of having first suggested the use that might be made of the Indus as a channel for British commerce. It is unnecessary, however, to transcribe his information, as the voyage of Lieut. Burnes up the Indus, and the inquiries of that officer and others have fully determined the question.—Ed.

them the administration of Peshawar and the adjacent districts, but who were united only by their mutual fears and weakness. So convinced were they of their perilous situation, that at a formal interview we were most earnestly entreated to become the channel of a negotiation for placing the whole country under British rule. So urgent, and apparently sincere were their representations, that I was obliged to acquiesce so far as to promise to forward a memorial from them to Calcutta, stating distinctly that it was to be considered as the mere act of a private individual, without any authority to advocate their cause, and without any means of offering even a conjecture as to the result of the application *.

These dissensions, and the disturbed state of the country in consequence, rendered it unsafe for us to move as early as we wished,

* These negotiations probably gave rise to the story told by Ghulam Hyder, that the brothers offered to give the country to Mr. Moorcroft upon payment to them of three lacs of rupees a year, and that upon his declining the offer, an engagement was entered into with Mr. Trebeck for one lac a year for three years, after which he was to pay the stipend first stipulated. The bargain was not effected, because Yar Mohammed began to suspect it was the purpose of the Europeans to bring back the King Suja al Mulk. *As J.*, v. xix. p. 38.—ED.

and we were detained at Peshawar until the beginning of May. In the interval I accomplished a visit to the country of the Waziris, in order to ascertain the quality of their breed of horses. The journey was performed under the care of Mir Kamar-ad-din, a Pirzada of great repute. The first part of the route was that pursued by Mr. Elphinstone, as far as Kobat, but it then led to Tiri, the capital of the southern Khataks, thence across the Salt hills into the country of the Barak Khataks, and then into the oasis of Banu, in the middle of a desert sixty or seventy miles long, and nearly of equal breadth, the western extremity of which is frequented in spring by the nomadic Waziris with their cattle. At the time of our visit in March, the desert was covered with a rich carpet of variegated colours, from the purple flowers of the wild sanfoin, and the yellow flowers of the marigold and bugloss. Its most valuable product, however, is the ashkar, a succulent shrub from which potash is largely prepared. The people were everywhere most hospitable and kind, laying aside their marauding propensities in favour of the solitary stranger and his holy guide. Even

amongst these barbarian tribes, however, it was not unusual to hear expressions of a wish to be protected from the Sikh and their own rulers by a British government. The Waziri tribe are said to comprehend from eighty to ninety thousand families; but they are torn to pieces by intestine feuds, village being armed against village, and man against man; and there is no one to enforce order and repress violence. The tract of Banu owes its fertility to its being more thoroughly irrigated, by canals cut from the river Kurma, and produces most luxuriant crops of barley and wheat. The Waziris are all nomadic. Their horses appear to consist of two breeds; one called Khazar-wal, from a person of the name of Khazar, who it is said introduced it; the other Dagla-gala, or 'thieves' brood,' from the parent having been stolen. My visit was late in the season, most of the families having moved to the mountains, and Banu had been recently swept by the Sikh army. Colts were therefore scarce, and I purchased but two, one at one hundred and fifty-five the other at two hundred rupees: the former, though not handsome in figure, was invaluable in work;

the latter was in appearance precisely like an Arab, and would have sold in Calcutta, as an Arab, for one thousand rupees. However serviceable for ordinary purposes the Waziri horse is not adapted for cavalry, seldom much exceeding fourteen hands.

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PART IV

JOURNEY TO KABUL AND BOKHARA

CHAPTER I

Departure from Peshawar—Jamrud—Khyber country—Thieves—Pass—Topes—Afghan troops—Insolence and Credulity of the Khyberis—Shenwar Khybers—Kafir castle—Hot winds—Mountains—Caves in the rocks—Kama river—Jelalabad—District—Town—Surkh-rud river—Chahar-bagh—Sultanpur—Orchards—Wandering Giljis—Bala-bagh—Congress—Topes of Amara-khel—Ancient Coins—Lamghan—Kaferistan—Bimba—District of Gandamak—Bridge over the Surkhab—Pass of Jagdelak—of Katalang—Storm—Heft Kotel—Kabul.

In the beginning of 1824 the political disputes of the Barikzyes had come to a crisis. The persons chiefly interested in the contest were Dost Mohammed Khan and his nephew, Habib Ullah, and the main object of their disagreement was the possession of Kabul. This city had been the portion of Mohammed Azim Khan, the elder brother of Dost Mohammed. Mohammed Azim Khan died shortly after the

battle of Noushehra, and his son, Habib Ullah, claimed the succession to the government of Kabul, which was disputed by his uncle. Habib Ullah was a weak profligate young man, and by no means a match for Dost Mohammed; but the reputation of his father, and his own supposed wealth, procured him partisans, and enabled him, on more than one occasion, to defeat his uncle's attacks upon him. Hostilities, however, continued between them, and subjects of grievance between Habib Ullah and some of his other uncles had occurred. It was thought advisable, therefore, by the brothers at Peshawar to interpose, and, if possible, effect an accommodation. With this view Yar Mohammed Khan left Peshawar and repaired to Kabul, and after a short interval summoned Pir Mohammed and Sultan Mohammed to join him.

We had arranged for our onward journey through the country of the Momands, but Sultan Mohammed strongly urged us to take advantage of his and his brother Pir Mohammed's march with a body of troops to Kabul, and to accompany his detachment. He pressed this with so much earnestness, giving us pri-

vately intimation that we had little security even from his brothers, except in his support; and as we had always found reason to rely upon his friendship and sincerity, we acquiesced in his recommendation. Accordingly we quitted Peshawar on the evening of the 24th of May, and bivouacked at midnight on the plain, about four or five miles from the city, at a short distance from the prince's encampment.

Early on the morning of the 30th the Afghans were in motion, collecting in troops under several leaders, each distinguished by a triangular pennon. The march lay over the western part of the plain of Peshawar; the ground was uncultivated and plentifully strewn with small stones, with patches of good pasturage. That it had been once under tillage was evident from numerous traces of water-courses and ruined villages. The plain terminated at Jamrud, at the foot of the Khyber range. It appeared to have been formerly a place of importance, from the number of broken stone walls scattered about, and some large tanks, one of which was sixty yards square. It now contained but a few houses of

stone, and some mat hovels, occupied by Khyberis, a race of notorious thieves. Their Kazi, a very Jewish-looking person, had visited us along with a number of his clansmen at Peshawar, and had been very importunate for money to purchase his protection. He made his appearance again at Jamrud, and renewed his suit, and, after some discussion, it was settled that he should attend us to the borders of the Momand country for twenty-five rupees. Notwithstanding this, we received intimation that the Khyberis had plotted to plunder us during the night, and we were therefore obliged to be upon our guard, and had little rest. The day had been intensely hot, and the wind was as scorching as if it had been blown from a blacksmith's forge.

The road on the next day passed along the course of the Shora rivulet and through narrow defiles amongst the mountains to the pass of Ali Masjid, which is considered as one of the most dangerous places in the country, both from its narrowness and difficulty, and from its being the boundary between the two clans of Koki Khail and Zaka Khail. The mountains on either hand of the defile are about one thou-

sand three hundred feet high, slaty, bare, and, to all appearance, inaccessible. On the left, between the main ridge and the pass, of which it forms one side, is a conical hill of about six hundred feet high, on the summit of which the remains of stone walls may be discerned, the relics of a fortress by which the pass was formerly commanded. A tall beetling crag rises on the right of the defile, which is nowhere above twenty-five paces broad, and in some is not more than six or seven. The length of the pass is nearly a mile. It was not without much labour and delay that Sultan Mohammed managed to get his three cannon through the pass.

After clearing the defile the mountains receded and gave us a fine view of a reach of the valley, in which our attention was caught by a structure of the character of the tope of Manikyala, standing strongly in relief against a clear sky, and rendered more conspicuous by its situation on an isolated craggy mound. When we arrived at the spot we found that the northern side of the structure had fallen in, but its southern face was tolerably perfect. The dome was more dilapidated than that of

Manikyala, and showed that the structure was solid. The building rested on a square platform of masonry, from which rose a second tier or platform divided into compartments, and ornamented with four pilasters, each a foot and a half broad. Above this was the rotunda, one hundred and ten paces in circumference, and about fifty feet in height. It was without any architectural ornament, except two cornices which encircled it, but its facing of masonry was curiously constructed of square stones on edge, divided horizontally by piles of slate of a few inches breadth, and separated into tiers by flat slabs. On the northern side a flight of steps had led apparently to the base of the rotunda, but the top of them was in ruins. Amongst the rubbish were masses of mortar and unbaked bricks. By some its erection was ascribed to the Mogul emperors of Hindustan, but others asserted that it contained the ashes of some wealthy Hindu, whose body had been burnt here. It is most probably a Hindu structure, though for what purpose is doubtful. It is evidently of great antiquity, and of the same period as the tope of Manikyala. At the foot

of the hill, to the northward, we observed different piles which were apparently structures of the same description, more or less in ruins. We encamped near a small fort, called the Gerhi, or fort of Lala Beg.

On this day's journey the Duranis observed a less straggling march than they had hitherto done. The whole force consisted of one thousand two hundred horse, exclusive of camp followers, who were comparatively few. They moved in three bodies, Pir Mohammed commanding the van, Shah Aghasi the centre, and Sultan Mohammed the rear. Though not moving at any uniform pace, they travelled generally at a quick walk of about four and a half miles an hour, and were not delayed by their baggage, as it was placed on mules or stout galloways, and the servants rode on the top of the load. These animals keep up very well with the cavalry, and when the camp is formed, are sent out to fetch provender. The troopers were variously mounted, but most of them had strong active horses, and those about the sirdars handsome chargers. They were but indifferently armed. Some had swords and spear-heads without shafts;

some had bad pistols stuck in their kamarbands; some had matchlocks with the eimak or crooked stock; and some had similar weapons with musket locks. Few of the men had ammunition enough to keep up a fire of ten minutes. The cannon were about four or five pounders, tolerably well cast, but vilely mounted on crazy carriages, and drawn by wholly untrained horses. Of the Khyberis we saw but few: they expostulated, it is said, with Sultan Mohammed for taking us with him through their district free of toll; but he maintained his right to do so, as we were his allies; and when they argued that we were too few to be of any real use, he assured them that we were possessed of such *hikmat* that we could with ease bring their largest mountains about their ears. He even offered them a specimen of our powers if they wished; but this they declined in great alarm. However credulous in this respect, they did not believe that we could not be robbed, and we were therefore obliged to keep up a vigilant watch at night.

The Khyber valley is of an irregular form, but the average breadth is about fifteen hun-

dred paces: the hills which border it may be about seven hundred feet high. In the valley we saw but few villages, and those were of no great extent. Each house was enclosed by a high wall, in some part of which was a tower for look out and defence. The Khyberis are said to be a numerous clan, the principal population being in the hills. They are tall for mountaineers, and of a singularly Jewish cast of features: some of the young women had an arch, lively look, but we saw none that could be regarded as pretty. The men were dressed in long cotton tunics of a kind of plaid, in which blue was the prevailing colour: the women wore an imitation of chintz. The leaders of the Khyberis are their Mullahs, who are said to amount to three thousand. We occasionally saw them in groups of fifty or sixty, but whether numerous or few, they were impudently urgent in their demands for "sheep," by which they intended money. We were glad to give them a trifle in general to be rid of them, but on one or two occasions were obliged to reject their demands, even at the risk of an affray.

After crossing the valley we again came to

a narrow defile, the road occasionally being cut on the side of the rock leading to Landi Khana, in the country of the Shenwari Khybers, a race even more infamous for their robberies than the Afridi Khybers. On the top of a lofty insulated crag we observed the remains of a stone fortress, called by some the Kafir Kila, the castle of the infidels; others asserted that it dated since the introduction of Islam: beyond this we passed a place called the Heft Chah, or seven wells, from there being that number in the neighbourhood: the valley opened into the valley of the Kabul river, and we encamped on its right bank, at the village of Dhaka. On the other bank, at some distance to the north-east, was Lalpura, the chief town of the Mamands, defended by a mud wall and towers.

The heat of the sun, and still more of the wind, was excessively distressing, and such were the fatigue and thirst of the people, that had the river been but a little more distant, many must have dropped. As it was we had to regret the loss of a favourite spaniel and a fine pointer; our other dogs were barely saved. We had heard of the fatal effects of the Si-

mum between Peshawar and Jelalabad, and can easily conceive its distressing influence; for notwithstanding the scorching blast we now encountered, the people agree in asserting that the hot winds had not yet set in. Several of the soldiers of Mohammed Azim Khan's army perished last year on his retreat from Peshawar. It is remarkable that the hot wind is most intense along the course of the river. It blew with less steadiness than in Hindustan, coming in puffs, alternating with a cold blast, apparently from the snows of the Safed Koh.

Our march now continued along the valley of the Kabul river, over a tolerably level and extensive plain, on which several villages were situated, all of them protected by mud walls and bastions from sudden incursions. On the left the plain was bounded by the Safed Koh range, at a distance of about nine miles; with a glass, forests, apparently of pines, clothing its summits, were descried. The mountain, especially termed the Safed Koh, lies at the head of the Mamand Dhara, a valley belonging to the Shenwaris, celebrated for its vineyards: more to the west is

another fertile valley, called Mangastura. These also rear most of the pomegranates imported into Hindustan. Across the river ran a chain of barren hills, called, from their sterility, Kohi Bedaulet. In some of them we could distinguish lines of cavern mouths; but whether these excavations were ancient or modern, we were not near enough to determine. Many of the Afghan tribes form domiciles in the rocks, and we had noticed several cave-dwellings in the Khyber country. Beyond the mountains, skirting the river on the north, part of the snowy peaks of the heights bounding Kaferistan were visible.

On the 3rd of June orders were given to make a night march, and we accordingly started at ten P.M. We moved over a dry sandy plain for some distance, and then reached broken ground, near which was a walled enclosure, called Surkh Diwar, or red wall: the spot is notorious as that whence the Simum is said to originate, and as being the haunt of Shenwari and Waziri freebooters. From thence we descended, and came again upon the bank of the river, from which we had previously made a considerable detour.

Near this it was joined by the river of Kunar, called by Macartney the Kama: it is of no great size, and rises most probably from the snows of the Himalaya. There were several villages on the left bank, Besud and others, inhabited by a people who pretend to be descended from the Arabs. We passed through the bazar of Jelalabad, which seemed worse supplied than many a village bazar in Hindustan, and encamped without the town, above a thousand paces from the river.

We remained at Jelalabad on the 5th. It rained during the preceding night and great part of the day, and the Duranis, who had pitched their tents near to the river, were obliged to strike them precipitately to get out of the way of the water. They marched off in the evening to Bala Bagh, but it was too late for us to follow. Jelalabad is said to owe its origin to the emperor Akber, styled also Jelal-ad-din, and to have been a place of considerable importance, as the capital of a province. Even at a recent period the latter had yielded a revenue of six hundred and fifty-two thousand rupees. It was raised from the fol-

lowing places, the list of which will also point out the extent of the province.

Southern Division.

	Rupees.
Dhaka and Girdi . .	2,000
Hazar Nau	10,000
Bishbulak	10,000
Koth	40,000
Hisarak	50,000
Chaparyar	30,000
Khogiani	60,000
Gandumak	3,000
Ishpan	2,000
Chakar	,000
Hisarak of Nurkhan .	8,000
	218,000
Town of Jelalabad . .	3,000
	221,000

Northern Division.

	Rupees.
Lalpur	3,000
Goshta and Khazai .	8,000
Kama	60,000
Kunar, containing six large valleys . . .	100,000
Shiwaikiktik . . .	30,000
Arabi and Zakhet . .	15,000
Lamghan	150,000
Bala Bagh	15,000
Surkhrud	60,000
	431,000

The town is advantageously situated for commerce, as besides being on the high road from Peshawar to Kabul, roads lead from it to Darband, Kashmir, Ghizni, Bamian, and through Lamghan to Badakhshan and Kashkar. At present the only traffic that subsists is the export of fruit, pomegranates chiefly, and timber from the pine forests of Komner to Peshawar. The whole number of houses at present is said not to exceed three hundred, and the aspect of the place is more ruinous than any through which we have passed in Afghanistan. The

district extends about fifty kos in length, by about thirty in breadth, and was at present under the administration of Mohammed Zeman Khan, a son of Asal Khan, the elder brother of Fatteh Khan, and consequently the cousin of Habib Ullah. The latter, however, was attempting to dispossess him in favour of his own brother, Akram Khan. The distracted state of the government was the constant theme of complaint with the Mullahs, and respectable natives who came to visit us.

We resumed our march on the 6th, having the river on the right, and across it, a range of low hills, at the distance of twelve or fifteen hundred paces, beyond which were the summits of the Hindu Kosh: on the left was a sandy plain, bounded by the Safed Koh mountains, distant about twelve miles. The river was joined by the Surkh Rud, or red river, running past Bala Bagh, then turned more to the north, being lost amongst the hills. Beyond the junction we passed the garden of Chahar Bagh, an enclosure about two hundred yards square, with one or two small buildings: the wall was broken down in many places, and the place was utterly neglected.

It was said to have been originally the work of Baber, but was latterly repaired by Zeman Shah. Hence the road proceeded along the edge of a cultivated strip of land, in which many walled gardens, containing mulberry, apricot, apple, and plum trees were observable. We encamped between two villages, to each of which the name of Sultanpur is applicable: they are distinguished as lower and upper (pain and bala), also by the epithets Safla and Galia. At the former the houses were generally situated in orchards of apricots, mulberries, quinces, and plums; the latter of a particular kind, called gurdalu, or kidney-plum: it was yet green, and its character as a fruit, therefore, could not be ascertained. At Sultanpur Galia, the malik and chief people were Tajiks, who claimed to be descended from a colony of Persians, settled here before the time of Mahmud of Ghizni. They paid me a visit, and brought presents of sugar-cane, melons, apricots, and cucumbers. On this day's march we first met with parties of wandering Ghiljis: their tents were nothing more than flimsy black blankets, stretched over forked sticks about four feet high; within,

they had some more blankets, sacks, and pack-saddles, and without, a few loads of mats, ropes, and netting, for the formation of their packages: both men and women were robust, with strongly marked features. On the 7th we advanced to the garden of Bala Bagh, within which the whole of the Durani force had taken up its position. We encamped on its outside, and whilst unloading our baggage had a specimen of the activity of the thieves of the neighbourhood: taking advantage of the confusion occasioned by unloading, and the intrusion of a number of spectators from the Afghan camp, they contrived to take a pistol from the holster of one of our men who had dismounted, even whilst holding his horse, and a sword and belt of one of the Sipahis. The Duranis had just before lost several stands of arms in a similar way.

The principal persons assembled at Bala Bagh, besides those of our party and Mohammed Zeman Khan, were Shakur Khan, and Mihr Dil Khan, brothers of Dost Mohammed, and Wali Mir Akhor, the envoy of Habib Ullah. These formed a sort of congress for determining, if possible, the faroil disson-

sions, and several days were spent in discussion. As we were considered part of the expedition from Peshawar, we were obliged to await the result of the negotiations. At length it was settled that Sultan Mohammed Khan should proceed to Kabul, and we marched in his suite on the 14th of June.

Whilst we were encamped near Sultanpur we heard that there were at the foot of the Hindu Kosh range, in the district of Amara Khel, a number of burjas, or towers, which, according to the description given of them, were of the same character as that we had seen in the Khyber country, and we availed ourselves of our detention at Bala Bagh to pay them a visit. Our road lay between Sultanpur and the Surkhab, and across the latter, which we forded. The stream was so deep and rapid that it would not have been possible to have crossed it on foot, and the water was quite red from the quantity of red earth washed down by the current. Having thence ridden over some fields belonging to a walled hamlet, and over a piece of clayey land, much broken by water-courses, we reached a narrow gravelly slope, joining at a few hun-

dred yards to the left the base of the mountains bounding this side of the valley. Here we found a burj, but were much disappointed by its appearance. It differed considerably from the structure we had before seen, and, though evidently ancient, was much less substantially built, its exterior being formed for the most part of small irregular pieces of slate piled together without cement. We did not pause long to examine this, as nine others were in sight, one of which, more to the westward, appeared to be larger than the rest. We therefore proceeded to it, and found that it was situated on a stony eminence at the base of the hills, on the opposite side of which lies the main source of the Kabul river, and nearly in a line with the garden of Chahar Bagh. It was of the same style and form as the others, but was larger and more entire. It rose from a square platform, about seventy-six feet on each side, ornamented with pilasters, with simple bases but rather curious capitals: were it a tomb, it might be imagined that the centre of the latter represented rudely a skull, supported by two bones placed upright, and side by side, or by a bolster or half-

cylinder, with its lower part divided into two. On each side of this were two large pointed leaves; and the whole supported two slabs, of which the lower was smaller than the upper one. A singular feature in this decoration was its being composed of small pieces of thin slate, cleverly joined together. A flight of steps had formerly led up the southern side of the platform, but nothing remained of them except a projecting pile of ruins. On the centre of the platform stood the building, called by the people the burj. The lower half rose by perpendicular sides, and was surmounted by a cornice, whilst its centre was marked by a semicircular moulding, and the space between the moulding and the cornice was ornamented by a band of superficial niches, like false windows in miniature, arched at the top, and separated by small pilasters. The upper half of the building was smaller in diameter than the lower, and of a conical outline, but much of the top had fallen down. Intermixed with the brown slate of which it was chiefly constructed were pieces of quartz, or of some white stone, which at a distance gave to the exterior the effect of being che-

quered, or of a chess-board. This, although the largest edifice on the spot, was smaller than the tope of Manikyala, although evidently of the same character. Many of the smaller topes seemed to have been simply cylindrical towers surmounted by a dome. The greater part of them were in a very ruinous condition.

What might be the nature of these structures was an object of much speculation. The inhabitants of the village of Amerakhel declared that they had learnt from tradition that there had once been an extensive city on the spot, extending beyond the Kabul river, across which they pointed to some excavations, which they said had been included in the limits of the city. The usual appellations for them were Burjai Kafir, towers of the Kafirs; and the Tajiks who accompanied us said that their traditions had always so distinguished them. The people of the village also said that they had heard that the topes were erected by a Raja named Udi, and that the valley was inhabited by Hindus, who, upon some persecution, fled across the mountains, and were now the people of Kaferistan.

It was also mentioned that coins were often found in the neighbourhood, but not being current they were of no value, and were exchanged by the finders for common pyce at the nearest shopkeeper's. Accordingly we sent persons to the adjacent villages and to Jelalabad, to endeavour to procure some of these coins. From the latter our agent brought us two Russian copeks; from the villages we obtained between thirty and forty curious medals, having on one or both faces human figures, frequently in combination with those of the elephant or the bull, indicating their having been struck by order of a prince who was either a Buddhist or a Hindu. The variety was considerable, and two or three appeared to be Grecian, particularly one that had on one side the right arm raised and projecting, as if in an attitude of command *. On others, of a larger size, was on one face the profile figure of a man in a close vest, with a cap on his head, facing to his own right, his right hand apparently placing some-

* These notices identify the coins with others so abundantly found in the same locality by Mr. Masson and Dr. Honigberger, since the visit of our travellers.—Ed.

thing on a pile which might be meant for an altar, his left resting on his hip. The other face represented a figure wholly or partly naked, standing by the side of the Indian bull. On one was a figure riding on an elephant; on another a figure seated on a lotus. The rust upon them, and the decayed state of their surfaces, proved these coins not to be of recent fabric. Most of the coins bore inscriptions, but they were mostly indistinct, and the characters were not known. In some of the larger pieces they were more legible, and would, perhaps, be readily deciphered by persons acquainted with the alphabets of India. With regard to the buildings, it seems most likely that they were Hindu, and either monuments of Satis, or Buddhists, and tombs of the ashes of Lamas or of persons of rank. The latter is the most likely, for the general form of the edifice strongly resembles that of the Mani-pani appropriated to the ashes of the Rajas of Ladakh and the principal Lamas.

The day before we quitted our camp we were visited by Shanawaz Khan, one of the heads of the Tajiks of Lamghan, a district

which lies behind the first ridge of the Hindú Kosh. He was much the most intelligent man we met with in this part of Asia. Speaking of the topes, he stated that in two of them which had been pulled down, a kind of urn or vase of pottery had been found, similar in form to the ovens used by bakers in Peshawar, and that they were filled with ashes and fragments of burnt bones. He spoke in high terms of his country, and the high state of cultivation of the lower valleys. He also showed us some small garnets, or coarse rubies, found amongst his mountains in such profusion that the common people use them as shot in shooting small birds. Speaking of the people of Kaferistan, he stated that he had never heard of any history of the people, but that, according to their own traditions, they descended from that part of the Arab tribe of Koresh which, refusing to acknowledge the divine mission of Mohammed, were expelled from their country, and driven from place to place until they found an asylum in these mountains. Nevertheless, he admitted that the language of the people of Kaferistan was totally different from the Arabic, except in a

very few words, and that they were without any literature. He doubted if they had any knowledge of written characters. They occupy a barren and inclement region, and their country consists of a few narrow valleys, amidst mountains tipped with perpetual snow.

At Nimba, a village enclosed by a mud wall, is another royal garden, which was formerly regarded as superior to any other in this part of the country. It is a square, each side of which is three hundred and fifty yards, surrounded by a high mud wall. The area is laid out in cross avenues of chenar, or plane trees, some of which rise to the height of eighty feet, and are from ten to twelve feet in girth. A shallow canal of brick and mortar, eleven feet broad, formerly conveyed a stream of water down the principal walk. Summer-houses and chabutras or raised mounds, shaded by the cypress and plane, were scattered about the garden. Most of these are now decayed, and many of the trees have been injured or destroyed. The garden is ascribed to the Emperor Baber, but the site is memorable in modern times for the defeat and death of Akram Khan,

the Vazir of Shah Sujah, which was followed by the flight of that monarch from Kabul, and the loss of his crown.

Beyond Nimba we entered the district of Gandamuk, which is famous for its wheat, and crossed a rivulet of some size by a bridge of two arches, erected, as an inscription on it records, in the reign of the Emperor Shah Jehan. It was said that snow falls only to the west of this bridge. After crossing the rivulet we entered the district of Ishpan, and encamped near another garden, larger than that of Nimba, but of a similar description. The wheat in the neighbourhood was ready for the sickle, and many families of the Ghiljis had assembled to assist in reaping it. They are paid for their labour by one sheaf in every twenty. We were obliged to dislodge one family from a spot of ground under a tree, where they had halted. They readily moved, soon loading two asses and a camel with their effects, and unceremoniously rolling up two young children of a twelvemonth and two years old in a blanket, and tying them on the top of the camel's load. The children were evidently

accustomed to the conveyance, as they uttered no complaint, and lay perfectly quiet.

On the 16th our march led across the Surkhab, over a bridge built by Ali Mardan Khan, in the reign of Shah Jehan, in A.D. 1606, but recently repaired by Akram Khan. The bridge was one hundred and seventy yards long, and eighteen feet broad, with a single arch: it was flat at top, with a low parapet on each side. The river, which comes from the south-west, about twenty miles off, was flowing in a rocky bed with much rapidity. Below the bridge were two small butts on either side of the river, about two hundred yards apart, erected, it was said, to commemorate a well-aimed bowshot of Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Afghan sovereignty. Beyond the river the road ascended, and crossed the low line of hills continuous with the Safed Koh range at the pass of Jigdalik, from the summit of which an extensive prospect of both chains and the intermediate valley was enjoyed. Both ranges were tipped with snow, and ran nearly at an equal elevation, but the Hindu Kosh presented, occasionally, much

the loftier peaks. The valley contained little cultivated land, and was sprinkled with bushes or low trees of the Belut or dwarf prickly oak, interspersed with bushes of the white-flowered Daphne, and a variety of Alpine plants. The temperature of the air was very different from that to which we had been accustomed, and the change, however agreeable, was, in consequence of its suddenness, the cause of fever in several of my people. According to our Ghilji guide the valley is, for nine months in the year, the pasturage of large flocks of the broad-tailed sheep and of goats, which, during the other three months, graze in the mountains. The road descended to the village of Jigdalik, so named from the former abundance of the Jigde, or Sanjid (*Elæagnus*), of which not a tree is now to be found here, but of which the absence is compensated by a grove of mulberries. As our companions had appropriated all the supplies procurable at this mean place, we moved on two kos, and encamped on the bank of a watercourse.

On the next march we crossed another pass, the Kata Lang, from whence the de-

scent was rapid to the stream of the Barikab. The road then alternately ascended and descended to the narrow valley of Tizen, which was in cultivation with wheat and rye, both still green. A rough estimate of our elevation, by boiling water, made it about six thousand feet: here we halted. During the night the wind was so violent that it snapped the pole of my tent, and the canvas fell upon my bed. On putting up my hand to remove the pressure I received a smart shock of electricity, and, passing my fingers along the cloth, they were followed by streaks of light. The phenomenon occurred repeatedly, until the electrical matter was exhausted; but it was again excited by the flapping of the tent against the bedstead, which was of iron. After the moon rose we resumed our march. The valley narrowed to a defile between lofty mountains, not more than twenty to thirty yards in breadth, and about a mile long. Our advance was much delayed by the precautions we had to take against depredators, and it was day when we reached the foot of the Heft Kotel, where the wind was piercingly cold. From this the road be-

gan to descend, and passed by the ruins of several villages, to one of which the name of Khurd (Little) Kabul was attached. The modern village, so called, is on the plain, and it is also applied to a district. Our march had been long, and we were glad to halt near the walled village of Bhút Khad, within view of the city of Kabul. Sultan Mohammed had gone on to meet his nephew nearer the city.

During the night some thieves took advantage of the remissness of the sentries to penetrate into several of our tents, and carried off sundry articles of wearing apparel, Mr. Trebeck's cloak, blanket, pistol, and, what was a severe loss, his compass, one made with sights. The alarm was given by Mr. Trebeck, who, putting his hand under his pillow, missed the pistol, which was usually deposited there. The thieves, however, had escaped, and the property was never restored, although I offered a liberal reward for its recovery.

From Bhut Khad we proceeded, on the 20th of June, to the capital, passing along a narrow and ill-constructed causeway, over a

plain, which is occasionally flooded, from a river that runs from the south-west, and is subject to sudden swells. It was crossed by a small bridge, from the end of which the road ascended to an eminence, whence the plain of Kabul, on the edge of which stands the city, came in view. Here we were met by a party of horse, under whose escort we entered Kabul by the gate of Lahore. The concourse of spectators was considerable, but less so than at Peshawar. We were led from the gate through a narrow street, which skirted the walls, and then through open and covered bazars, to the residence of Sultan Mohammed, who had caused his haram-serai to be appropriated to our accommodation. We were comfortably lodged, with the convenience of a garden, surrounded by a high wall. Sultan Mohammed sent us also a dinner and a dessert. The fruit consisted of cherries, a small morella, and mulberries, the latter called Ibrahim Khani, a black species, remarkably fine.

CHAPTER II

Departure from Kabul—Alarm of the Followers, and Desertion—Fort of Allahdad Khan—Threshing Corn—Thieves—Mydan—Sir-cheshme—Trout—Winter Forage—Forts—Helmand River—Pass of Hajikak—Hazaras—Bamian—Figures—Paintings—Caves—Origin—Sykan—Afghan Extortion—Assafœtida—Slaves—Khurm—Aibek—Apricots—The Wali—Takhti Rustam—Caves—Hill.

The account of Kabul, published by Mr. Elphinstone, precludes the necessity of our entering upon any particulars, and the period of our stay was one of continual bustle and alarm. The disputes between Habib Ullah and his uncle, Dost Mohammed, agitated the city, and at last came to an actual encounter, in which the latter acquired the ascendancy, which he has since maintained. Various attempts were made by Habib Ullah to extort money from us, but we succeeded, with the support of our Peshawar friends, in resisting them. Their protection, however,

was not wholly disinterested, and, under the name of a loan, I was obliged to raise money to a considerable amount by bills upon Calcutta for the use of Sultan Mohammed Khan. It was, therefore, with no slight satisfaction that we got away from both friends and foes, and, after the middle of August departed from Kabul.

Our baggage was sent off on the evening of the 16th to Deh Mazan, a village about a kos and a half to the west of Kabul, across a rivulet, and near the foot of the gorge, which affords a road through the mountains. We followed on the ensuing day, but were delayed by several vexatious occurrences, so that we did not move from thence until the 19th. The worst feature in the events alluded to was the feeling of alarm and despondency that pervaded many of our party. At the last moment all the servants I had engaged in Kashmir refused to proceed, and my Munshi also insisted on his dismissal. On the next day four of my Gorkha soldiers deserted: they had become Mohammedans, and were but indifferent characters: but I had a severe loss in the Naik, who also dis-

appeared, and who had always been a steady and active adherent. Even Mir Izzet Ullah partook of the panic, and, although he determined to accompany me himself, and share my fortunes, he deemed it prudent to send his son back to Hindustan, that, in case of any calamity, his family might not be left without a head. Replacing the defaulters with Afghans as well as the time permitted, and encouraging those who remained to think lightly of the dangers of the journey, we resumed our road, resolved that no groundless apprehensions, at least, should prevent our arrival at Bokhara.

The road on the 19th continued to the west, skirting the hills on our right. Several forts were observable on either hand. The path was tolerably level, over a sandy soil, abounding, where not under the plough, with camels' thorn. The wheat had been gathered, and the crop still remaining was that of the carthamus, or safflower, the flower of which is a more vivid red and is richer in colouring matter than the safflower of Hindustan, to which it is exported. On the spot it sells at two and a half to five rupees a ser.

This part of the plain would be almost unproductive were it not for the melting of the snow, which is rendered subservient to irrigation by stone watercourses and canals, led from the slopes of the hills. In many places the land is hollowed into lines of deep ravines, with steep banks, in the beds of which a series of wells, twenty or thirty feet apart, and lined with stone, is constructed. Indian corn is cultivated, and, though it seldom exceeds three feet in height, yields a return of forty to sixty for one. The sanjid tree, in tolerably good years, yields, per tree, from eight to ten sers of dried fruit. At Khush Khak, where stood a fort of Allahdad Khan, a friend of Dost Mohammed, we halted for the night. On his corn floors I saw a considerable quantity of wheat, which women with heavy sticks were employed in threshing: another mode was by piling it in a heap about twenty feet high, and thirty or forty in diameter, from the top of which a quantity was successively thrown down under the feet of a couple of heavy bullocks, dragging after them a heart-shaped frame of willow branches

stuffed with straw. By this brush, and the feet of the oxen, the grain is detached from the ear, but the operation is tedious and imperfect: much of the grain remains mixed with the chaff: it is not lost, however, as this chaff is given to the horses. The feed of horses is here most economically practised; the allowance for twenty-four hours for a working horse being six pounds of barley and ten of dry straw; yet I never saw horses in better condition, or more free from disease. Allahdad Khan had a large vineyard, in which some of the vines were in trellis, and others in stocks, three feet high. The latter broke out into sideshoots, which ran along the ground, and were little productive. Notwithstanding the proximity of the fort, and the presence of an escort of fifteen horsemen, belonging to Sultan Mohammed Khan, we were disturbed during the night by thieves. They were seen, however, and fired upon by the sentinels we had taken the precaution to place. The attempt took place during Mr. Trebeck's watch, who, riding up on the report of the piece, was mistaken by one of the

sentinels for an Afghan: he fired, and brought down the horse: luckily Mr. Trebeck escaped unhurt.

From Khush Khak we marched on the 20th to the district of Mydan, following a direction generally west by north, over a stony and irregular plain, leading to the ascent and pass of Safed Khak. Beneath this spread the valley of Mydan, studded with forts; the land was worse than the east of the pass, and fruit trees were giving place to the willow and poplar. The road continued along the valley, on this and the following day, to the village of Takina, on the road to Bamian, where we encamped. The wheat and barley had been cut, but we saw crops of horse beans and other pulse, and some rice, but it was low, and appeared backward. In the vicinity of the village I found the prangos growing, though but a span high; it was here called kamai, and used for winter forage for cattle and horses: five pounds of it ground to coarse powder, and mixed with double the quantity of wheat or barley-chaff, is an allowance for a horse for a day and night, and is said to fatten him more readily than any other kind

of food. On the following day we made a short move to Sir-Cheshme (the head of the springs), the head of the long valley up which we have marched, where we were to lay in a stock of barley for our horses, as the crops in advance were yet green. On my way to the fort of Aziz Khan, the Hazara manager of the district for Dost Mohammed, I passed a small pond, filled by a stream from a holy spring, which was so full of trout as to baffle description or credibility. They were held sacred, and were exceedingly tame. On the 21st of March, to a day, according to the report of the people, the fish desert the pond for the rivulet that waters the valley. It is then lawful to catch them. Besides this spring, there are others in the same locality, the waters of which unite, and the rivulet resulting from their confluence is the head of the Jui Shir, running past Kabul.

The valley of Mydan contains about thirty-five thousand inhabitants, Tajiks and Hazaras; they are both cultivators, and the latter are also soldiers and marauders. The revenue is said to be ten thousand rupees in specie, and eight thousand in grain. The district

had been taken from Habib Ullah by Dost Mohammed, who had made it over to Amir Mohammed Khan; he again had granted it to Zulficar Khan, with a portion of the revenue, on condition of his furnishing, when required, an armed force of one hundred footmen and twelve horsemen. At Lower Tahina I saw some shaftal, or clover, cut for seed, and never saw ground so covered with hay of any kind. After the seed is trodden out, the chaff, mixed with wheat and barley-chaff, is given to horses as winter forage. Almost all the troop horses of Kabul are wintered at Mydan, on this food and lucerne, at the cost of two or two and a half rupees a-head, and come out of this feed in the spring in excellent condition.

The first part of the march on the 24th was along a narrow defile, of an irregular, but in the main, ascending elevation. It then descended into a ravine, and crossed the upper or main branch of the Helmand river. It was here knee-deep, and about ten yards across, and was said to come from a portion of the Hindu Kosh, behind the district of

Pagman, three days' journey distant. Beyond this the road opened into a valley, in which stood the village of Gardan Diwar, where we encamped. Many forts were passed in the early part of the march, with patches of cultivation, chiefly of shaftal; towards the end of it we saw the naked barley of Tibet, called here kal jao, and some wheat. Numerous parties of Ghiljis were encountered, who were descending from their mountains into milder regions for the winter. They had with them numerous droves of camels, sheep, and goats; many of the former were young ones, and were covered with a blanket, with a hole for the hump. The furniture and tents of the people were carried on the camels, as were their children, and the lambs and sheep when infirm. The Hunai pass divides Afghanistan from the country of the Hazaras.

From hence the road proceeded up a zigzag defile, with a branch of the Helmand, generally to the right, but frequently crossing the path; on the left, at no great distance, was the Kohi Baba range of hills. The road continued to ascend somewhat steeply to the

pass of Hajikak* ; the total ascent during the day was about three thousand feet. The pass is dangerous and difficult in winter, as it is exposed to snow drifts from every quarter. From its summit the road descends into the district of Kalu, between a ridge of high hills on the right, and a rough, irregular valley on the left, extending to the foot of the Kohi Baba mountains. From the latter a rapid rivulet descended, which, we were told, passes by Ghori to the Oxus; beyond it, on some level eminences, were the forts of Kalu, belonging to the Darghun tribe of the Hazaras. The parent clan, who spread from near Herat, and from Sykan, on the borders of Turkistan, to the frontiers of Afghanistan, are said to be descended from a portion of the Mongols, left here by Holaku Khan. Their physiognomy, however, indicates a very different origin, and from the formation of their heads, and features of their faces, I should be disposed to class them with the Tibetans, the Nepalese, and the Mugs: a connexion with the same races seems to be indicated also by the traces

* It is twelve thousand four hundred feet above the sea. Burnes, 181.—Ed.

of a common religion, afforded by the topes of Amarakhel and Jelalabad, and the figures and devices on the coins found in the same situations. The character of the country through which we had latterly passed reminded us strongly of Ladakh; the vegetable productions were greatly similar; we had the naked barley and the prangos smaller, but abundant, and the rhubarb with circular unbroken leaves was in great profusion. Its medicinal virtues are unknown, but it is extensively used, both raw and dressed, as a fruit and a vegetable; the leaves are also collected, and piled up in dry places as winter fodder for cows.

The 25th brought us to Bamian. In the first part of the journey the road was very rough, and irregular along the sides of the hills, ascending to the pass of Kalu, which was still more elevated than that of Hajikak. It then descended to the valley of Bamian, passing by the small fort of Topchu. Farther on we crossed the Bamian river, which running westward, is joined by that of Kalu. The valley then became level and grassy, and, as it approached Bamian, widened to about

one thousand two hundred yards across. We encamped between two channels of the river, in front of the fort of the deputy-governor of the district. Upon our left, and in front, rose the perpendicular rock, in which are the two celebrated idols, and the whole face of which was honeycombed with caves.

Bamian has usually attached to it the designation of Bhut, or Idol-Bamian, from two remarkable statues carved on the face of the rock in its vicinity. The ancient city, called Gulgula, stood on and around a detached conical hill, which is covered with extensive ruins, and remains of buildings are strewn all over the valley, showing it to have been formerly the site of a numerous population. Utensils of copper and brass, and coins are frequently found, and writings, said to be in Persian and Arabic, as well as some unknown language, are sometimes discovered. According to the Mohammedan traditions, Gulgula was built by Jelal-ud-din, King of Khwarism; but it seems probable, that although it may have been enlarged and improved by him, it may boast of much higher antiquity. The hill had been fortified, and its interior was

pierced with caves, communicating with the surface, and containing the remains of reservoirs, no doubt of water, for the use of the garrison.

Of the two colossal idols cut out of the rock, opposite to the hill on which stood the city, one larger than the other is called Sang-sal, or Rang-sal, and is said to represent a male; the smaller, called Shah-muma, is considered to be a female; but the general appearance and costume of both are essentially the same, and indicate no difference of sex. On either side of the figures are numerous caves excavated in the rock, usually with vaulted roofs, which were sometimes carved with flowers. The figures stand in porches or recesses cut out of the rock, the upper part of which is arched, so as to form an alcove or vaulted canopy over the head of the figure; the sides advance so as to form wings, in which are staircases ascending to a gallery behind the neck of the statue, whilst other galleries run off from their sides, right and left, into the rock. The flights of steps of the larger image were so much decayed as to be inaccessible, but one of those on the side of the smaller

was tolerably entire, and led to the head of the figure. Both figures have been mutilated, by order, it is said, of Aurangzeb. The faces and fore arms of both were knocked off, and a thigh of the larger was broken. They are both clad in long loose robes, descending below the knee. The height of the smaller figure was one hundred and seventeen feet; that of the larger we could not measure, but it must have been about one-third more. The inside of the alcove, or top of the porch, was covered with fresco paintings of flying figures, and a border contained various half-length figures, whose heads were invested with a halo. Paintings of this kind had descended to within thirty feet of the ground, but the plaster had, for the most part, peeled off. An embellishment of the ground, a white ball with a pyramid rising from it, a common ornament of sculpture in Tibet, was frequent here. Four figures under the spring of the arch of the alcove were of very beautiful delineation, and painted with much delicacy of colouring; below them was the head of a male figure, which resembled in expression the divinity called, by the Tibetans, Cham-ba.

At the western end of the range which we ascended we found a number of caves, one of which, of a quadrangular form, displayed considerable architectural decoration. The front had fallen in, but the sides were made up of fluted and square pillars, with and without capitals, at intervals not greater than the breadth of a pillar. The roof was carved so as to represent tiers of beams crossing each other at angles, and diminishing their distance as they ascended, until they left an octangular space of about twenty inches only, imitating the roof of a log-house in Tibet and Kashmir. The pillared cells communicated by a gallery with a large vault, and beyond that with a chamber fifty-three feet long, thirty-eight broad, and forty high, along the sides of which were a number of small arched recesses, in which the vestiges of fresco paintings might be discovered, although impaired by time and blackened by smoke. At the end, opposite to the entrance. a large recess indicated the site of a statue, and a small portion of frieze at the angle of the arch showed the perfection to which the art of sculpture had been brought at the period when the

chamber was constructed. This was about two feet and a half long, and eighteen inches broad, divided, as to its subject, into three compartments: a superior and inferior fillet contained representations of pheasants in high relief; the middle band consisted of foliage; and the whole was executed with singular truth and spirit.

The origin and use of these excavations are matters of speculation. According to an account given us by an old and intelligent native of Bamian, dead bodies have been occasionally found in subterranean chambers in considerable numbers, and which have fallen to dust upon being exposed to the air. It is not impossible, therefore, that part of these excavations may have served as catacombs; but I have no doubt that they were also, as indeed they still are to a certain extent, habitations of the living. My own conviction, from the character of the buildings, of the caves, paintings, and sculptures, is, that Bamian, whatever its ancient appellation, was the residence of a great Lama, bearing the same relation to the Lamaism of the west, as Lhassa does now to that of the east. The name of the smaller

idol, Shah-muma, is evidently only a corruption of Shak-muni; but this is evidence of minor importance. From a somewhat intimate acquaintance, however, with the structures used as monasteries in Ladakh and Chanthan, I am legitimately empowered to say that those excavations which were connected by means of galleries and staircases constituted the accommodations of the higher orders of the Lama clergy, and that the insulated cells and caves were the dwelling-places of the lower classes of the monastic society, as gelums and anis, monks and nuns, and as serais or hostels for visitors. The laity inhabited the adjoining city *.

At a comparatively modern period the destruction of Gulgula is attributed to Jangez Khan, who, from some cause not now remembered, being highly exasperated with the

* Bamian has since been visited by Captain Burnes (*Travels to Bokhara*, vol. i.) and Mr. Masson (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nov.* 1836). Their accounts generally agree with those of our text, except that they have a lower estimate of the height of the two principal images, which they suppose to be severally one hundred and twenty and seventy feet. In one of the caves, Mr. Masson writes, he saw "the names of W. Moorcroft, G. Trebeck, and W. Guthrie, written with charcoal."—Ed.

people, came upon them suddenly, put them without mercy to the sword, and overturned and demolished the place. It was said that at a day's journey from Bamian, to the south-west, were the remains of an extensive fortress, called Bandeh Berber, erected near a large lake.

We were detained two days at Bamian, in consequence of the reported dangers of the road; a chief, named Ali Gohar, a dependant upon the government of Bamian, being in rebellion, and plundering the caravans. A letter from Allahdad Khan was addressed to Mohammed Ali Beg, at Sykan, to request his protection of us through his country; and he shortly sent word that he awaited us at the pass of Ak-robat, with two hundred horse, which he would double should there be any appearance of danger. We therefore started on the 28th. The road was rough and irregular, ascending to the fort of Ak-robat, a small mud-fortress with a round tower: a further ascent led to the summit of the pass of the same name, which is about the elevation of those of Hajikak and Kalu. To our north the mountains were much less lofty than those we

had crossed, and were all bare. We here entered Sykan, and were met by Ali Beg, a Tajik, who was the chief of the district. We accordingly took leave of Allahdad Khan and Zulficar Khan, with our Afghan escort, after a discussion in which the former attempted to extort from me a most exorbitant remuneration for his attendance. He had received from me four hundred rupees, and I offered him three hundred more, which, as the maintenance of the party had fallen on me, amounted to above one thousand one hundred. He however rated his services at a much higher value, and asserted that it was for my credit and name to pay at least some three or four thousand rupees, and that Sultan Mohammed Khan had desired him to receive no less. Satisfied that this was as false as the demand was unreasonable, I persisted in my first offer, and the Khan was at last compelled to be contented with what he could get. Notwithstanding my confidence in the friendship of Sultan Mohammed Khan, I felt as if a load was taken off my breast on quitting the Afghan territory, such were the intrigue and villany I had witnessed, and the perilous situ-

ations from which I had with difficulty, but I trust with honour, emerged. We encamped on the 29th near the village of Sykan.

The chief article of the commerce of this place is assafœtida, of which about two hundred maunds are gathered annually from plants that grow wild upon the mountains. In the spring the earth is partly removed from about the root, and the stem and leaves cut off close to the ground; a juice exudes from the surface, which, when dried, is scooped off; a slice is then cut from the root, and the juice exudes again from the fresh surface; this is repeated a third and a fourth time. A root of a good size yields about half a pound of the dried juice. Another article of commerce is slaves; Mohammed Ali Beg, in conformity with the practices of his neighbours, and, as he professes, only in the way of retaliation, making incursions upon the Uzbeks and Hazaras, and carrying off their population for sale. He was an officer of Mir Kalich Ali, of Khurm, and since his death has raised himself to importance. He has twenty-five forts in Sykan and the vicinity, and is extending his power. He was very urgent with us to stay

with him and aid him in an attack upon Khulm, which he was confident of mastering with our assistance.

On the two following days we left the Sykan territory by the pass of Bala-farash, and proceeded along the valley of Kamur, the chief of which was a feudatory of Murad Beg, of Kunduz; thence we proceeded over alternations of hill and valley to the fort of Do-aba, surrounded by black tents of felt, and a few stone houses, the residence of an Uzbek population, under a Malik of the same nation. The valley continued to Rohu, where the people, who were Hazaras, called themselves Habsh, pretending to be of Arabian origin. They were rich in cattle, having about three hundred brood mares, and many black cattle and sheep: the former were of an indifferent kind; the latter were broad-tailed. Hitherto all the sheep we had seen had been brown-legged and brown-headed; many at this place had white heads, and some were wholly white or black. They were long in the body and very fat, and the mutton was excellent. The wool was coarse, and the price varied from two to four rupees a sheep.

Our next halting place was Khurm, where we arrived on the 3rd of September. It is a long narrow town, on the banks of a rivulet, which had accompanied the road from the valley of Doaba. The houses were rudely built of lumps of limestone, with flat roofs of clay; many were unoccupied, their tenants quitting them at this season to take their flocks to distant pastures, and residing in felt tents. Even about the town the tents were pitched in the orchards for the summer habitation, where the members of each family were engaged in weaving cloth, made of the wool of their own sheep, or watching their crops, chiefly of panic, kangni, and fern, growing under the fruit trees. Wheat and barley are also grown. The management of orchards in this country is carried to a great extent. It seems to matter little what the nature of the soil may be, as long as there is abundance of water. Apples, pears, peaches, plums, walnuts, are all cultivated; but the apricot is the staple of the district, and the people of Khurm assert that theirs is the best in Turkistan,—a claim contested only by the apricots of Aibek. The vines were of severa

kinds, and were trained over the top of the likhe, or white thorn. The willow, poplar, and aspen, along the river attained a great size, and the Sanjid was beautifully loaded with fruit. We were rather too early for the fruit season. The whole course of the river was richly fringed with orchards. In some places on the road we noticed an ingenious adaptation of a natural process to the construction of solid dykes: the neighbouring mountains are of limestone, and the water, though beautifully clear, was fully charged with that earth. It therefore deposited a quantity of tufa or stalactite as it rolled somewhat sluggishly along, on any stones placed to intercept or confine its stream, and thus cemented them in a short time into a substantial wall. In one part of our route, at a place called Ghazi Mir, the level of the river was higher than the road, but it was prevented from overflowing by a walled bank of this construction.

The inhabitants of Khurm seem to be in more comfortable circumstances than any we have met with for some time. They call themselves Tajiks, but have no tradition of

their origin. They are evidently a mixed race, some of them with remarkably large heads and features, some with small heads and sharp lineaments. The complexion of the men was dark, but that of the girls and young women fair, although they had all black hair and eyebrows, the latter as regularly arched as if they had been pencilled; they were generally pretty, almost handsome. Persons of both sexes, and of all conditions, crowded into my tent, but they were remarkably good-humoured and civil, and their Mullahs apologized for their intrusion, by representing that they had never seen a European before. I could not learn that any remains of antiquity were known to them, except the ruins of a mud fort which we had passed on our road, and which they said had been constructed by the Kafirs before the time of the Mohammedans.

A continuation of the same valley led to Jas-bagh, a place of a similar character as Khurm, but less extensive, and thence to Aibek, the residence of Mohammed Ahmed Beg, the second son of the late Mir Kalich Ali, who had assumed the title of

Wali, or Protector of Balkh. On hearing of the demise of his father, who, in reply to my letters from Kashmir, had promised me his protection on visiting his country, as I proposed, I wrote to him letters of condolence from Jas-bagh, and intimated my purpose of waiting upon him. His authority over Aibek was that of a feudatory to Murad Beg, the Khattagan Chief of Kunduz, who, upon the death of Kalich Ali, had taken advantage of disputes amongst the three elder sons of that chief to extend his own possessions. In this he was assisted by Baba Beg, the second son, through whose treachery the elder brother and heir was removed by poison; in reward for which he had been invested with the government of Khurm. The third son, our new acquaintance, had endeavoured to assert his independence, and occupied Aibek. He was unable, however, to cope with the superior power of Murad Beg, and was compelled to acknowledge him as his superior for that district. Balkh he held of the King of Bokhara. Report spoke favourably of the young man's abilities and general conduct, and I indulged a hope that he would extend to me

the friendship of which his father had made several demonstrations. The first view of Aibek was rather imposing, presenting a castle on an insulated eminence, surrounded by houses with cupola roofs, with a projecting chimney in the centre. On a nearer approach it was found that many of the houses were tenantless and in ruins; the people, however, seemed busy in preparations for their repair. Aibek is famous for its apricots, which, when dried, are largely exported to Bokhara and Astrakhan. When dried with the stone they are sold at two Kabul sers for a rupee: they are also split and strung with other kinds, in which form they are called khista, and are sold at one ser for a rupee. The chief cultivation round Aibek was millet, of which three sorts were reared: it grew to the height of three feet, and yielded double the weight of wheat on the same soil. On approaching Aibek, the mountains on either hand receded, the climate had become much warmer, and the fruit had been some time gathered.

Shortly after we had encamped the Wali came to visit us: he was about twenty-four, with Uzbek features, but not unpleasing ex-

pression: he was very civil, and assured us that he looked upon us as old friends, in consequence of our intercourse with his late father. He stated that the ancient name of Aibek was Simingan, and that it was the residence of the father of Rudaba, the wife of the hero Rustam; that at the time when it was destroyed by Jangez Khan, the buildings extended to the foot of the Yetimtal mountains, nearly a day's march in advance of us. According to tradition there were seven thousand Hindu families in the town, most of whom were exterminated by the conqueror. At present there were scarcely any Hindus in the country, and those were merely temporary sojourners, who had no families. To my inquiry after ancient remains, he indicated a place in the vicinity, dignified with the title of Takhti Rustam, to which he accompanied us on the following day.

About a mile to the west of the fort we found an isolated hill in which were a number of excavations; one of these, called the apartment of Rudaba, consisted of a square vestibule, and a circular chamber with a cupola ceiling: the former was now open at top,

but appeared to have had a roof formerly: the latter was thirty-two feet in diameter, and twenty-six feet high, with an opening in the roof, at the part farthest from the entrance, to admit light and let out smoke.

In the centre of the dome was a large medallion, much defaced, but from the circumference of it were distinctly seen large leaves like those of the calyx of the lotus, spreading towards the lower edge of the dome, at the meeting of which with the walls, a broad cornice extended round the room. From this chamber an inner corridor, following the face of the wall, one hundred and thirty-two feet long, by sixteen and a half feet broad, led to another circular and vaulted chamber, of about thirty-seven feet in diameter, but much blocked up by rubbish. The room was of a similar character with the first, but the style of decoration was widely different. There were several other excavations, but these were the most worthy of notice *.

On the shoulder of a ridge of hills facing the west, a few hundred yards from the exca-

* The manuscript refers to a drawing, which has not been received.

vated hill, was situated the throne of Rustam. This consisted of a small and insignificant square edifice, remarkable chiefly from its site. It stood upon a conical mound with a tabular summit, which had been cut off from the rest of the mountain by a deep trench all round it. The trench was cut into an inclined plane, and opened by a vaulted passage through the surrounding belt of rock into the valley. The building proved to have been part of the original rock; the interior consisted of a conical cell, entered by a vaulted passage, of a man's height, whilst on the top of it, which was level and solid, was a sort of basin or well. On the western front, beyond the trench, were several platforms on a kind of rampart, which had been scarped in front, and within which was a spacious vaulted chamber, part of the front of which had fallen into the fosse. Several small cells were observed in the sides of the ditch. There were no traces of steps from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the mound, but the fallen fragments now afforded means of ascending. From some niches in its edge, corresponding with similar ones in the side of the rampart on the original

hill, it should seem that a sort of drawbridge formerly connected them. The height of the mound was seventy-four feet; the circumference of the top we omitted to measure, but the house was twenty feet square; the cell within it was about seven feet in diameter; the passage about eight feet long by nearly six feet high and four broad. It gave a loud echo to sounds uttered in the cell. Tradition, as the name imports, assigns this structure to Rustam, and he is said to have drank wine from the basin in the upper platform; but a more inconvenient position for the consequences of strong potations can scarcely be conceived, and we cannot accede, therefore, to the notion that Rustam made merry in such a situation. It is difficult, however, to conjecture with any confidence, what could have been the object of the structure. The excavations in the mountains, in connexion with those in Afghanistan, at Bamian, and others observed on the whole road hither, and with the topes of the Panjab, and the figures at Bamian, would seem to intimate its being the work of a Buddhist people. It differs, however, so much from anything we saw in Tibet, that I cannot

acquiesce in such an appropriation. It has much more the character of an altar, and might be thought to have been a fire-altar of the ancient Guebers of Bactria, the first seat of the religion of Zerdusht. There was no appearance, however, of discoloration, such as might have been expected from the action of fire, and this conjecture, therefore, must be abandoned. That it was an altar, however, derived some confirmation from a number of deep notches in the edges of the basin on the upper platform, evidently made with a sharp cutting instrument, the axe or knife, perhaps, used in slaying the victims sacrificed. Were the altars erected by Alexander sacrificial or commemorative? If the former, may not this mound have been either his work, or that of some of the Greek princes of Bactria, within which kingdom Aibek must have been comprised? I could find no traces of inscriptions nor any coins; and the origin of the mound of Aibek, the throne of Rustam, must be left to the determination of those better qualified and more favourably circumstanced for the prosecution of the inquiry.

The rock in which these works were discovered was limestone, and the sides exposed large masses of organic substances, nearly as hard as quartz, semitransparent, and resembling madrepore.

CHAPTER III

Return of Messengers to Kunduz—Unfavourable Reports—Advance—Excavations of Bazar Súm—Horses—Houses—Tangi—Khulm or Tash Kurghan—Baba Beg—Visit to Kunduz—Yang Arekh—Reservoirs—Pass of Arganna—Plain of Kunduz Ghori river—Town and Fort—Atma Ram—Audience of Murad Beg—Suspicions of the Chief—Difficulties—Enemies—Persian cannon—Return to Khulm—Delays—Exorbitant Duties—Departure of Mir Izzet Ullah—Summons to Kunduz—Detention Charge of being a Spy—Removal of Goods to Kunduz—Izzet Ullah's return—Audience—Military expedition of Murad Beg.

On the 7th of September, Mir Fazl Hak and Mir Wazir Ahmed arrived at Aibek. They had crossed the Hindu Kosh and visited Kunduz, where they had delivered my letters to the chief, but unfortunately the Dewan Begi, Atma Ram, was absent in a distant part of the country, and my letter and presents to him were not delivered. Some evil disposed persons, it appeared, had been endeavouring to prejudice Murad Beg against us. The English, they said, never entered

into any part of Asia but for interested purposes, and ultimately became its masters. It was asserted that our party was strong in soldiers and cannon, and that in consequence of our interference in the affairs of Kabul, a large portion of the fine intended to be levied on Mir Mohammed Ali had been remitted, whilst the money with which we had supplied Sultan Mohammed had enabled him to make himself governor of the city. These imputations had been warmly refuted by Mir Wazir Ahmed, and the result of the discussion was, in his opinion, entirely favourable to us. We therefore resumed our journey, in the hope that no difficulties or dangers were before us, although the character of Murad Beg, the Kattaghan chief of Khulm, Kunduz, Talikan, Inderab, Badakhshan, and Hazrat Imam, forbad our feeling entirely secure. We left Aibek on the 8th; the baggage followed the direct road, but we kept more to the left, in order to visit some excavations to which the Wali had directed us.

At about twelve miles from Aibek, where the cultivated ground of the valley terminated in bare and rugged swells, leading to a range

of low hills, we found a set of caves, called the Hazar Súm, or thousand houses, excavated in the face of a platform of stalactite deposit. They were in two tiers, built in arches, generally from twelve to twenty feet broad, and the same height, but partly choked with dust and rubbish and animal excrement. Niches were worked in the walls, and one was larger than the rest, as if for the reception of an image. In one of them I observed marks of vermilion, and traces of letters which, though mutilated, resembled strongly the common or vulgar character of Tibet. The largest apartments had been plastered, and washed either white or black. The lower range of apartments communicated with the upper by passages, but they were in total darkness, and not having torches with us, we were unable to explore them. Coins and ornaments, it is said, are sometimes found; but we did not meet with any remains, except some fragments of a cream-coloured pottery. These caves are the reputed haunts of wild beasts and of robbers, and it was unsafe to linger in their neighbourhood.

From Aibek to the foot of the mountains

was about eight miles. There were several towns in ruins, having been destroyed by Murad Beg, who had made slaves of their inhabitants. There still remained a number of inhabited villages, and the land, where cultivated, was well tilled and watered. Every village had large droves of brood mares, and they were more numerous than cows: they were generally about fourteen hands high, something too long in their bodies, but in other respects well formed. They would have been well worth from two hundred and fifty to three hundred rupees in Hindustan: here they were purchaseable for a toman, or a toman and a half, or from twenty to thirty rupees. The country is said to abound in deer and other game, and a part of the mountains to the right has the appellation of Kani Kansa (Bear-mine). All the houses were built with domes. There is little timber in the country, except that of the fruit trees; and the scarcity of this article, which probably drove the ancient inhabitants to live in caves, has occasioned the adoption of vaulted roofs. Each chamber in a house has its own dome, with a square opening in the roof for

light and ventilation. The walls are built of stiff clay with pebbles, the roofs of sun-dried bricks, coated with a luting of clay and chopped straw. A family house consists of three chambers, and is enclosed by a clay wall, and costs about thirty or forty rupees. These houses are very comfortable, and are well suited to a climate where the snow of winter seldom falls heavily or lies long, and where the rain that falls in spring and autumn is never violent.

The road to Ghizni Yek continued over rough and uneven ground, and along a narrow and ill cultivated valley, in which scarcely any tree but the tamarisk presented itself. It then narrowed to a pass between a small stream and a ridge of rocks, called Tangi. The strait continued more or less contracted, till, at about twelve miles from that village, it passed through a narrow gorge for a few hundred paces, and then opened upon a view of Khulm. Crossing a rivulet, we began to march over a hard gravelly plain. The mountains receded on either hand, and the plain in prospect was, in appearance, as flat and unbroken as that of India on emerging

from the Himalaya. The change from the arid and rocky defiles we had traversed to the orchards and domed houses of Khulm, or Tash Kurghan, was highly grateful.

We had been met on our way from Ghizni Yek by a Hindu custom officer, named Bysakhi Ram, whose business it was to count our packages, and report to his superiors. He was also sent to act as our guide, and led us to the skirts of the town, where we encamped. We were soon visited by crowds of Uzbeks and by a number of Hindus, settled in the town as merchants and traders. The latter, by their conversation and familiarity, mixed with much respect, claimed us as old acquaintances, and were evidently glad to meet with persons whom, notwithstanding the difference of creed and complexion, they had learnt to look upon as friends and protectors. The Uzbeks were very civil, but exceedingly curious.

Baba Beg, the ruler of Tash Kurghan, as before noticed, was absent on our arrival. His return was scarcely announced to us when it was reported that he was entering the gateway of the enclosure in which we

were encamped. I left my seat to meet him, and had scarcely advanced twenty paces when I saw a short, thick-set person, about thirty-five, clothed in an outer vest of flame-coloured silk, with an inner dress of black satin. On my approach to embrace him in the usual manner, he somewhat repelled me, and I merely, therefore, took his hand, and led him into the building I had occupied, and seated him on a chair. He then coldly bade me welcome, and inquired the object of my visit. To my account of my being a merchant he observed this was a bad country for trade. Turning to one of my people, he inquired of him if he was a Mohammedan, and, being answered in the affirmative, he asked the man if he could find no other service than that of Kafirs (Infidels)? On this I remarked that his father would not have asked such a question, and that the man, being no subject of his, was not accountable to him for his conduct. This somewhat checked him, and, after a time, he became rather more polite. He informed us that he had been commanded by his chief to send us on to Kunduz, and to furnish an escort for our

journey, and with this, however inconvenient and undesirable, I was ultimately obliged to comply. Taking with me Mir Izzet Ullah, and a handsome present for Mir Murad Beg, of English broadcloth, chintzes, muslin, silk, a double-barrelled gun, and double-barrelled pistol, we departed for Kunduz on the 16th of September.

On setting out we crossed a ledge of the mountains which are in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, and had then on our right, or to the south, those mountains, running east and west. On the east the horizon was bounded by a chain of mountains, crossing from north to south. Before us to the north was an extensive plain, which, with exception of the ruins of ancient Khulm, and the remains of its orchards, was a desert, bearing little else than camel's thorn. Traces of former cultivation were, however, discoverable. At the distance of about nine miles we came to the town of Yang Arekh (New River) founded by Abdulla Khan, who governed this country in the reign of Akbar Shah, and who induced many Hindus to settle here, whose descendants still exist. The

town has been much reduced of late in extent and population, but it may contain about one thousand houses. It is supported chiefly by its filatures of raw silk. This is of two kinds, white and yellow, and is exported to Kabul and Peshawar. It is worthy of note that the pans in which the water is heated are of cast-iron, manufactured in Russia. The water of the Khulm river reaches little beyond Yang Arekh, and the plain remains sterile through want of irrigation: this, however, might be easily managed under a steady government, as the level is rather below that of the Oxus, and the whole distance from the river to the mountains to the south is not above two miles. We halted at Yang Arekh.

At about seven miles on the road on the following day we crossed the hills coming from the north, at the pass of Shaibaghli, neither very lofty nor very difficult. The descent led to another plain of a similar character to that which we had crossed: it was enlivened, however, by the occasional encampments of shepherds and flocks of sheep. These seemed to be in good condition, but

the wool was coarse: they are an article of export to Yarkand. Neat cattle of an inferior sort were also grazing on the plain in considerable numbers. We were obliged to make a long march on this day, as no water was found at the abdan, or reservoir, where it had been intended to halt: we had, therefore, to continue our march to the foot of a range of low hills, in which another reservoir, the third on the road, was situated. These reservoirs are constructed of brick, covered over by a dome, and were formerly fed by a canal from Yang Arekh: they seem now to derive their supply from the rain alone, and the water in them was yellow and fetid. There was, however, a sufficiency in the third, or Abdan Bash, and we were not fastidious as to its quality. At this place the sides of the hills were plentifully peopled by the bushy-tailed rat, the *Mus Hamster* of Pallas. A large spotted lizard was also frequent, burrowing in holes in the ground.

I had scarcely laid down to rest when Izzet Ullah came to inform me that a portion of our escort had received orders from Kunduz to return to Tash Kurghan on the following

morning, and bring from thence the whole of our party. Looking upon this as of evil augury, I determined to send back the men of my own whom I had brought with me, and wrote to Mr. Trebeck to desire him to avoid moving, if possible; hoping that I might be able to prevail upon Murad Beg to retract his orders.

We were early on horseback on the 18th, and ascended the pass of Arganna, whence the plain of Kunduz came in view, level and broad like the others, but bounded everywhere, except to the north, by mountains, of which those of Badakshan, to the south-east, were covered with snow. In the early part of our march we passed the village of Akserai, a few houses on a rivulet, which we crossed by a temporary bridge. Farther on we were entangled amongst swamps, thickly overgrown with rushes, amidst which the paths occasionally united in one narrow track, scarcely broad enough for a single horseman. These terminated on the left bank of the Ghori river, which was about fifty yards across. One of its heads, as has been observed, was the water of Doaba, and

at about a day's journey to the north it falls, along with six other streams, into the Oxus at Killa Zal.

At three miles from this, to the north, we reached Kunduz, and after passing through a mean bazar, were conducted into the old fort, part of which was in a ruinous condition. In an angle of the fort, in a wooden porch, we found the minister, Atma Ram, attended by a number of followers. Seats were given us, and a conversation ensued, in which a sort of apology was offered for the message requiring the presence of our whole party; the Mir, it was said, being anxious to see us all. Tea was served, and a matted chamber was assigned to me for my accommodation. In the evening our conductor, the Dewan Begi of Baba Beg, came to me with an air of concern, and apprized me that some persons had been telling strange stories of us to the Mir; amongst other things, that we had a fortress concealed in our packages, with artillery which went off of its own accord, and had the power of discriminating friends from foes. The chief of Doaba had come to report that we had ninety parcels, some of which had discharged

their contents, as he had in some degree witnessed. Other accounts stated that some of our chests were full of gold and jewels; and these various reports had so stimulated the curiosity and cupidity of the Mir, that he was resolved to inspect the whole of our bales and chests in person. To this I contented myself with replying, that I had come into the country upon the Mir's own assurances of security and protection; that I was in his hands, and he might use his power; but that I would not consent to have my merchandise brought to Kunduz. That with regard to the examination of the packages, the officers of Baba Beg at Tash Kurghan might select any three or four and open them, and compare them with our lists; when, if they were found to correspond, it was hoped that the whole might be passed in the usual manner. The Dewan Begi said he should report what I stated, but he repeated his story so often, that I began to suspect he was under the influence of a beverage, to which the Mir himself is said to be addicted, a strong spirit obtained from camel's milk by fermentation.

On the following morning I had a long con-

versation with Atma Ram upon our affairs: he seemed to be a reasonable man, and willing to accede to my proposals, but had no independent authority. He conducted me to his master, who, it was announced, expected us. We left the fort for a new edifice of clay, surrounded by a moat, which was crossed by a bridge. The gateway opened into a court, from the opposite front of which a covered passage led to a second court of considerable extent. On the right was an area, of which three sides were flanked by a broad veranda with a flat roof, supported by wooden pillars; the floor was raised above the level of the court about three feet. In this, on our left, was seated Mir Mohammed Murad Beg, in the centre of a line of some thirty or forty courtiers, who were seated on their knees, with their feet to the wall, their bodies inclined forwards, and their looks directed to the ground. On the floor of the area stood a long line of attendants in front of the chief, some with white wands, and all bending their bodies slightly forward, and declining their heads. Between them and the veranda, im-

mediately opposite the chief, sat the Arz Begi, or presenter of petitions. The whole was orderly and respectful: not a sound was heard, nor did a limb move, when Izzet Ullah and myself advanced and saluted the chief with the usual Salám Ali-kum. We were desired to take our places in the next veranda, where a carpet had been spread for us. A prayer was then said, after which all present stroked their beards with the most profound gravity. The courtiers wore large turbans, and long loose tunics, either of striped chintz or shot silk. The Mir sat upon a cushion of China damask, which raised him above his courtiers. His tunic was of blue silk, with a sash of the same, but he wore over it an open coat, apparently of wool, of an almond colour: he had on long brown boots, with high iron-tipped heels. He appeared to be about forty-five, and was of a dark complexion, with decided Uzbek features, and eyes so small, that when he smiled, which he did frequently, they were scarcely visible. The attendants were all very smartly clad in dresses of Bokhara silks, and the whole had a more uniform and re-

spectable character than any Asiatic court at which I was ever present: not a single person wore any offensive weapons.

The chief, after a short while, said he had sent for us to satisfy his curiosity and converse with us. My presents were laid before him by one of my servants, of whom he inquired if he was a Musselman. Prepared for this question by what had occurred with Baba Beg, the man replied that he was, and that hundreds of thousands of Mohammedans were the servants of the English, whom they found kind and good masters. The Mir made no comment, but cast his eyes over the presents, and seemed satisfied with them. He then commenced a series of questions regarding the extent of the British possessions in Hindustan, the name of the Governor-General, the amount of the revenue of India in former times and at present, the nature of our relations with Ranjit Sinh, and why we were not at war with him. He asked my name, my age, my place of residence, and the objects of my journey. Speaking of horses, he inquired if I was fond of them, and being answered in the affirmative, ordered some of his to be

passed before me, desiring me to point out those of which I most approved; and, on my so doing, asked particularly on what points my opinion of the goodness of a horse was formed. When this was explained to him, he observed, that I should not find such horses as I looked for in his country; his horses were active and capable of fatigue, more so than the Turkman, but that I should meet with good horses at Shehr Sabz and Bokhara.

After some further questions, which he appeared to put after much reflection, frequently pushing up his turban, and passing his hand across his forehead, he asked if I ate the food of Musselmans, and being answered that I did, ordered some bread and slices of melon to be placed before me; some pears and pomegranates were presented to him, and he distributed them amongst his courtiers: a plate of them was also handed to us. We were dismissed with civility, and in the evening the chief sent me a fat sheep, with rice and fruit.

On the evening of the following day Murad Beg sent for Izzet Ullah, and conversed with him till late at night. According to the Mir's

report, the conversation turned upon the British power in India, and our military discipline and resources. He inquired also minutely into the state of parties in Afghanistan, indicating a strong disposition to take advantage of its distracted condition. He also asked many questions concerning the political institutions and power of England, and made a number of just and pertinent remarks on the difference between them and those of Turkistan. With regard to myself, the chief remarked that he had been informed it was the practice of Europeans to send spies and secret emissaries into foreign countries, preparatory to their subjugation, and that he had been informed such was my real character. To this the Mir replied, that had I been a spy, I should have come in disguise, not avowedly as an Englishman, and that I had no other object than the establishment of a commercial intercourse, which would be as beneficial to Turkistan as to India. Murad Beg said this might be, but many were attempting to deceive him in regard to us, and he was determined to judge for himself. Our chests, he had been informed, contained an immense

treasure in gold and jewels. This was of course denied, and he was assured that our chests contained only such articles as had been offered to him, of which he might easily be satisfied, by having some of them opened by his officers at Tash Kurghan; that great inconvenience and expense would be incurred by removing the whole to Kunduz, and that I had come into his country in full reliance upon his good faith and entire confidence in the contents of his letter. After much hesitation Murad Beg at last acceded to the arrangement, and the Dewan Begi was ordered to accompany us to Tash Kurghan.

I may here remark, that the absurdly exaggerated accounts of the value of my goods might be traced to the ingratitude and treachery of some of my own people. At Kabul, the rapacity of Habib Ullah was excited by the reports of an Englishman, a deserter, of the name of Lyons, whom I had found in Kashmir in a state of great destitution, and had brought with me to Kabul. This man assured the Afghan he could point out chests filled with jewels and gold. Similar stories had been circulated on my subsequent march

by Khyum Khaja, a native of Hissar, whom I had been prevailed upon, against my own judgment, to take into my service at Kashmir. He became so obnoxious to all the people by his dishonesty, meanness, and quarrelsomeness, that I was obliged to discharge him from my service, but in compassion permitted him to accompany our caravan, as he would otherwise have run a risk of being taken and made a slave of on the road to his own home. At several places on our route we detected him in exciting suspicion of our objects, and spreading exaggerated reports of our wealth, and he was now one of those who had lab ured, with a malevolence scarcely conceivable, to prejudice the mind of Murad Beg against us.

Khyum Khaja was corroborated in his calumnies by a physician of Kabul, settled at Tash Kurghan, who had endeavoured to force himself into my employ, and being disappointed, repaired to Murad Beg with a tissue of falsehoods, relating both to Izzet Ullah and myself. A third enemy was a man who had been a servant of Mr. Elphinstone, whom he accompanied to Calcutta. There he became a professed convert to Christianity, but had

returned to Turkistan and to his former faith. This man, after an audience with Murad Beg, publicly boasted that he had done for the Europeans, and had prevailed upon the chief to put them to death and seize their property. These two, however, unlike the preceding, added not ingratitude to malevolence. Another person from whom I experienced a similar return for kindness was an Armenian, but he was the least culpable of the three. The best servants I have met with in my journeys are Hindustanis, engaged in their own country. Those picked up on the road are less entitled to confidence, but even they are preferable to natives of any other part of Asia.

A dispatch from Mr. Trebeck, brought by a courier in nine hours, informed me he had been much pressed to move with all our baggage to Kunduz, but had hitherto persisted in awaiting fresh instructions from me. He also expressed himself anxious to join me, as the idea of his being in safety, whilst I was exposed to danger, was intolerable, and he was satisfied that the owners of the goods in our charge would never place their preservation in comparison with my personal security. Baba

Beg had been very earnest with Mr. Trebeck to quit Tash Kurghan, assuming a friendly tone, and warning him against his superior, who, he said, was a cruel tyrant that would not scruple to attain his ends by violence. At the same time he offered to take, privately, charge of any gold or jewels we might have, and be responsible for their safe redelivery. He was thanked for his offers, but was told that we had nothing to conceal—a reply that evidently afforded him but little satisfaction.

Before setting out on my return I inspected, at the desire of the chief, a piece of ordnance in his possession. It was a brass cannon of considerable size, cast, as a Persian inscription denoted, by Yakub Firingi, for the Persian king, Shah Tamasp; the vent had been spiked, and though this might have been remedied, there was no artificer in Kunduz who could repair it. The gun had been dragged hither from Balkh by fifteen pair of oxen.

It had been settled that we should depart on the 22nd; but it had occurred to the chief that his minister might take the opportunity of conducting from two to three thousand sheep to Tash Kurghan, to be sold there in-

stead of being forwarded to Yarkand, as the season was far advanced. The passage of these occupied so long, that our journey was deferred till the following day. I took the lead, in the hope of meeting with game, and roused some pheasants, of which I killed one. The sedgy land in the neighbourhood of Kunduz abounds with game,—partridges, pheasants, the yellow grouse, and hares. In the desert plain, between this and the left bank of the Amu or Oxus, deer, foxes, wolves, hogs, and lions, are numerous; the latter resemble those in the vicinity of Hariana. We reached Tash Kurghan on the afternoon of the 24th.

On the third day after our return the Dewan Begi, with his deputy, Bysakhi Ram, took from our books the account and particulars of our merchandise; and we also apprized the Dewan, privately, that we had a small quantity of pearls and coral, which we did not wish to produce in public, as their value might be exaggerated by common report. The Dewan acquiesced in the prudence of not publicly noting these articles. He inspected some of our chests, which he admitted contained articles of necessity, not of merchan-

dise. We invited him to open any of the bales, but this he postponed, and seemed to think the business would be easily and speedily adjusted. Some days, however, elapsed, and no further communication was received: at last, after several applications to the Dewan Begi, Bysakhi appeared and said that all the bales must be opened. That with regard to chintzes, a horse-load was valued at one hundred and forty pieces, which was here sold for sixty tilas, of which two were deducted for duty. Now the fact was, that the usual duty was one in forty, not in thirty; but this was not worth disputing. Brcad-cloths, he said, were never before brought, and their value could be only decided by actual inspection. To this I objected as injurious to the articles, and contrary to the arrangement authorised by the chief at Kunduz. These fresh delays appeared to me to be an excuse for extorting money. Bysakhi Ram had said, on the morning of the inspection, he was an umedwar (an expectant), and was answered, that his meaning was understood. He wished to receive a bribe; but concession in this respect would have been criminal and degrading.

We had professed our readiness to conform to the usages of the country, and even to go further, in submitting to have our bales opened in the manner I proposed—a thing never done with native merchants. I foresaw a scheme, either to extort money by bribe, or by exorbitant duty, or to force a sale at Tash Kurghan, in order that the Hindus might reap the profit of a resale at Bokhara. However, I was resolved not to offer any bribe.

Our prospects continued without improvement, and repeated efforts to obtain a specific demand from the Dewan Begi were fruitless. At last, through the intervention of a Hindu trader, it was communicated to us, that nothing less than a payment of twenty thousand rupees would be received in lieu of duties, as our merchandise was estimated at eight lakhs of rupees. As this demand was wholly disproportionate to the expected out-turn of the goods, we declared it impossible that we could accede to it, and offered instead the following alternatives;—to pay one in forty upon a lakh and a half of rupees; to sell our goods to the Dewan for a lakh and a half; or to allow him to open the bales and take one article in each

forty. To anything beyond this it could not in justice be expected we should agree. These proposals, however, were disregarded, and the demand for twenty thousand rupees was reiterated.

As the case seemed to be hopeless, it became necessary to make the best terms we could for our deliverance from actual durance, for as matters stood, no Kafila Bashi would venture to furnish means of transport for our goods, and the Mir came forward to do what I had before urged, but what, from feelings which I could not satisfactorily develope, he had hitherto evaded, visit the Dewan Begi, and learn his final determination. He found the Dewan full of professions, but declaring his inability to act from himself. It was finally settled, however, that we should be let off on payment of the following sums:—Duty, three thousand seven hundred and fifty rupees; Dewan Begi, one thousand two hundred; Bysakhi, three hundred; which, with the value of the presents to Murad Beg and his servants, made a total disbursement of nearly seven thousand rupees.

After the payment of this sum it was pre-

sumed that we might at once prosecute our journey, but an order was issued by the governor of Tash Kurghan, prohibiting any persons from leaving the place, as Murad Beg had marched on some expedition, and did not wish information of his departure from Kunduz to be spread abroad. The Dewan assured us that he had dispatched a message to his master to announce that all things were arranged with us, and that we should soon have permission to depart. Nine days passed without news. The Dewan Begi then went to meet the Mir at Kamand, but on the road was ordered to dispossess the governor of Ghori, and take his place. No tidings were received from him up to the 21st of October, although Bysakhi pretended to expect a letter from him from day to day.

In the mean time our party sustained some serious losses by defection and disease. Mir Izzet Ullah Khan, as I have before observed, had long entertained but indifferent hopes of the successful prosecution of our journey, and the transactions at Kunduz were ill calculated to inspirit his expectations. He looked upon us as little better than prisoners, with a

very remote prospect of escape; and, to increase his alarm, he was taken ill with the bilious remittent fever, which prevails in the country about Kunduz, and despaired of recovering, a Turkestani, a servant of his, and another person, a traveller, having recently died of the complaint. The Mir recovered, but insisted upon it that he should die if he remained longer in the country, and, however reluctant to quit us, he could not resign himself to the prospect of never seeing his country or his family again. I at first withheld my consent, but his distress was so great that it excited Mr. Trebeck's compassion as well as my own, and I gave my permission to his departure, furnishing him with a letter of recommendation to the Governor General's agent at Delhi. On the 19th he departed, having asked me for the service of Askar Ali Khan, a friend of his, whom he had introduced to me, and who was to return. I directed him to endeavour to come back to me by way of Bajaor, Chitral, and Badakhshan, so as to ascertain the practicability of avoiding Afghanistan. My writer of accounts, Mir Mahmud, also took his departure.

On the 22nd of October a message arrived from the Mir to Baba Beg, ordering him to send the Europeans to Kunduz. Some of the people of Murad Beg had been severely wounded in his attack upon the Hazaras of Kamand, and he required our surgical assistance. He also desired we would bring some of our men, that he might inspect their military exercise. Although apprehensive that this was a mere pretext for separating and weakening us, it was of no avail to resist, and on the 23rd, therefore, accompanied by Mr. Guthrie and ten of our escort, I retraced my steps to Kunduz. On our march, when near the middle reservoir, we were overtaken by a sudden storm of wind, which brought with it such a cloud of dust that it was utterly impossible to distinguish objects a few feet distant, and the whole of the surrounding atmosphere was darkened. This happened at night, but the obscurity continued for several hours after sun-rise, and we were obliged to halt the whole time, in the fear of missing our road. The wind did not abate until the afternoon. When we arrived the apartment I had formerly occupied was in the possession

of some Turkman horse dealers, and no other accommodation was provided. The Dewan Begi was reported to be in consultation with the chief, and we were glad to lie down on the floor of a small open chamber, where, notwithstanding my fatigue, the restless activity of the fleas precluded all chance of repose. Nothing was heard of the Dewan Begi till the afternoon of the next day, when he appeared with Mirza Rahmat, a secretary of the chief. The countenance of the former seemed stiffened into a singular hardness of expression, and he began his discourse by observing that reports had reached the chief of his having accepted a bribe of four thousand tilas, or twenty-four thousand rupees, to conclude the arrangement he had made with us regarding the duties; that he had informed the Mir of his having, almost by force, obtained from us first one sum and then another, in which, by the way, I observed he said nothing of the one thousand two hundred rupees he had himself received, and that it was unlikely he should have endangered all that he owed to his master's bounty to serve a person whom he had never seen

before, and might never see again: the Mir, he said, had been, in some degree, pacified by his representations, but it seemed as if much depended upon my reply, and that the secretary was there to witness it. Although I had no great reason to be satisfied with Atma Ram's conduct, I could not be accessary to his degradation, or, perhaps, his murder, and I, therefore, at once observed that, having actually paid more than the usual rate of one in forty, it would have been monstrously absurd in me to have given to any one four thousand tilas, four hundred, or even forty. My answer produced an instant relaxation of his features, and, after observing that Europeans were superior to deceit, he departed, stating the Mir would see me on the following morning. Accordingly I waited on the chief, and made a present to him of one of the beautiful guns made by Mr. Donnithorne. He was highly pleased with it, and asked if I could make such? When told that I could not, he repeated the question to Gholam Hyder Khan, who was with me, and received a similar reply. In the course of conversation he said he had heard that I had

been shooting near Kunduz, and that I was very welcome to pursue the sport wherever I pleased. I replied that my game lay near Bokhara, to which I was anxious to proceed as soon as he would release me. The answer did not exactly please him, and I was desired to withdraw, but, after the Durbar, many persons congratulated me on my reply, the question being considered as a trap to discover if I was desirous of an opportunity of making myself acquainted with the country.

On the following day the secretary assisted me in the composition of a memorial, which, on the next morning, I presented to the Mir, who said he would inquire into the contents, it having been represented to him that my journey was a mere pretence, and that I had other objects than merchandize or horses. I had been privately informed by Atma Ram that the Turkistani above referred to was the chief author of these calumnies, and I desired the Mir to confront me with any person who would prefer such false accusations. This, he said, was not possible. I then asked him how he proposed to inquire. He said he

would write to the Hakın of Kabul, and Dost Mohammed Khan. I reminded him that I had brought a letter from that chief, and that further reference to him was unnecessary. As he seemed bent upon some such application, I referred him to the Sahebzanda, Mir Fazl Hak, who had gone on to Bokhara, and whose testimony he admitted would be decisive. He desired me not to be impatient, as the delay of two or three weeks would be of no importance; but I hesitated not to express my sense of his treatment, and told him he might as well take off my head at once, as cause the ruin of my property. This, he said, should be perfectly secure, and, for that purpose, should be conveyed to Kunduz, where I must remain: it should not be touched if the bales were filled with gold. I was then dismissed, with the conviction that my goods were actually on the road; and accordingly on the following day they arrived, with Mr. Trebeck and the rest of my party. In the evening also, Mir Izzet Ullah joined us: he had been stopped by order of Murad Beg, at Ghori, where he had had a relapse, and, notwithstanding his illness, was compelled to return

to the unhealthy situation of Kunduz. He brought with him a letter from the Kohistanis to Murad Beg, proposing to him to join them in a descent upon Kabul, in which they engaged to establish his authority. The Mir had also engaged to advocate their application, an undertaking of which I could not but disapprove, and I enjoined him, at any rate, not to implicate us in the negotiation.

It occurred to me, upon consideration, that I had with me vouchers of which Murad Beg could scarcely refuse to admit the authority, in letters from Mahmud Shah, when king of Kabul; from Fatteh Khan, the Wazir; from Nand Ram, the Dewan; and from Mir Kalich Ali Khan, the late Atalik of Khulm. They were of old date, having been written in answer to my application when, twelve years before, I was projecting a journey to Turkistan; but they were all couched in a friendly tone, encouraging me to pay them a visit, and would afford undeniable testimony to my character. I showed them to the Dewan Begi, and to the Yesawal of Baba Beg, who had been formerly in the service of Kalich Ali, and recognised his signet. They were both

of opinion that they should be submitted to the chief, and accompanied me to him for that purpose. We found him seated on the floor of the area, in the veranda of which he usually gave audience; some strangers were seated on felts, about twelve yards before him. In front of him stood the secretary, and Mirza Yakub, the governor of Kunduz, sat on his right hand. When we were seated at a similar distance as the other strangers, I explained the object of my waiting upon him, and delivered to him the letters above mentioned. The secretary read each of them aloud; but when he had half-perused that of Kalich Ali, the patience of Murad Beg was exhausted, and he broke out into a volley of abuse against the writers, calling Mahmud Shah an opium eater, Fatteh Khan a bhang-drinker, and Kalich Ali by some equally abusive epithet, whilst he addressed me by the appellation of Kafir. The letters, he said, were twenty-four years old, and, therefore, of no value. I observed that he had made a mistake of twelve years, and that if the weight of the document depended upon its date, I could produce one not twelve months old, a letter of Mir Mo-

hammed Murad Beg, which invited me into his country, under assurances that I should experience the same treatment as other foreign merchants. As I uttered this with some warmth, it increased the irritation of the chief, who talked with a volubility and indistinctness which rendered it impossible for me to comprehend more than the expressions infidel, and armed men. An individual present, who I understood was the Governor of Hazrat Imam, joined the chief in inveighing against us; but before he had finished his oration Murad Beg jumped up from his cushion, and retired hastily into his apartments, on which the assembly broke up. I remained for a short time to collect my papers, and, somewhat unluckily, dropped the chief's letter, of which, however, I had a copy. The result of this conference had not tended to brighten our prospects, but it seemed that it had not the effect of rendering them darker, for on the following morning Mirza Yakub came to me for the purpose of allaying any apprehensions I might entertain in consequence of our interview, and assured me from the chief, that nothing wrong was intended. A similar

message was repeated on the following day by a Khajeh Zada, of Balkh. There was no alternative but patience; but, apprehensive that we might be detained under the pretence that the messenger to Fazl Hakh had not returned, I dispatched to Bokhara a servant of my own, with letters to the Pir Zada, and to Mir Wazir Ahmed, to apprise them of all that had occurred.

Whilst we were thus detained, a confederacy was formed against Murad Beg by the neighbouring chiefs, amongst whom were the Wali of Aibek; Zulfakar Sher, of Siripol; Ishan Khan, of Balkh; the chief of Mazar, and others; who had raised a force of eight thousand men, better equipped and mounted than those of Murad Beg. He had, however, increased his force to twenty thousand, by levies of militia, who held lands on condition of military service.

CHAPTER IV

Favourable testimonials—Return of Wazir Ahmed—Extortion of Murad Beg—Departure to Khulm—Izzet Ullah's final departure—Absence of Mr. Guthrie—Tash Kurghan—Old Khulm—Renewed summons to Kunduz—Charges by Mohammed Amin—Flight of Mr. Moorcroft to Talikan—Appeal to Kasim Ján, the spiritual guide of Murad Beg—He takes Mr. Moorcroft under his protection—Interviews with Baba Beg and Khan Jan—Confronted with Mohammed Amin—The latter dismissed—Private representations of the Pir Zada—Arrival of Murad Beg—Final adjustment.

DURING the absence of the chief, couriers arrived both from Bokhara and Kabul, in reply to his letters, bearing testimony to our inoffensive character, and our being what we represented ourselves, merchants. The son of the Mir who had been left in the fort assured us that his father was satisfied that we had been misrepresented, and that in a few days we should be at liberty to proceed: days passed on, however, and no such liberty was given; and even after Murad Beg's return no

notice was taken of us. The child of his eldest son, Khan Jan, being taken ill, Mr. Guthrie was ordered to go to Talikan, about forty miles from Kunduz, where the prince resided, to prescribe for it. Luckily the complaint was not serious, and was subdued without his interference. The father of the infant generously presented him with a coarse striped cotton gown, worth about three rupees, as a remuneration for his journey.

Mir Wazir Ahmed, who had gone on our behalf to Bokhara, and had found in the king a disposition favourable to our visit to that city, learning our embarrassments at Kunduz, came to us to endeavour to effect our extrication. He had been the agent through whose means the permission of Murad Beg for our coming had been obtained, and he now adjured him, if he had any regard to his character, not to violate the pledge of safe conduct which he had given. Murad Beg replied to his remonstrances, "What have I, what has an Uzbek to do with character? Do I not sit here to plunder the faithful, and shall I withhold my hands from an infidel?" The Mirza then said that he would bring disgrace

upon his Pir Zada, or spiritual guide, Mir Fazl Hak, by disregarding his intercession, and this so far weighed with the robber that he said, as the holy man took an interest in us, he would let us off for fifty thousand rupees, otherwise we must have a taste of the summer of Kunduz. "Tell them," he concluded, "what I say, and let us hear their reply." My answer was, that I had no money, and he might do his pleasure. The Dewan Begi was then sent to us to endeavour to make some settlement, and after much discussion it was agreed that we should be suffered to depart on payment of ten thousand rupees to the Mir, and two thousand to Atma Ram. This being determined, we had an audience of the Beg, who affected to receive us as friends, and talked to me of his ailments, and asked me to prescribe for him; his civility was evidently inspired by the complacency he felt at having so successfully concluded his machinations against us.

On the 17th of December we once more began our march to Tash Kurghan. Izzet Ullah had departed the day preceding to Hindustan, and Mir Wazir Ahmed succeeded

to his situation. Heavy rain fell, and the river of Ghori was so much swollen as to be forded with difficulty. One of the camels, carrying a kojama in which were a servant of Mr. Trebeck, and an old cook, Ismail, fell, and the two men were thrown into the water. The cook, who was paralytic, would have been drowned, but was saved by Mr. Trebeck; the other man made his way out, but a valuable compass, entrusted to his charge, was lost, and we had none left but such as were of an inferior description. We reached Tash Kurghan without further mischances, and were welcomed by Baba Beg with apparent, and by many of the townspeople with unaffected cordiality. I found on my arrival a Kasid from Kabul, who brought me a certificate that I was, as I pretended to be, a merchant, bearing the seals of fifty of the principal merchants and bankers of Kabul, who had, unsolicited, prepared and forwarded this voucher when they heard of our detention, and the reason assigned for it. The man had been here a fortnight, having been prevented, on various pretexts, from proceeding to Kunduz.

However anxious to get clear of the terri-

tory of Murad Beg, we were obliged to remain some time, in the hope of being joined by Mr. Guthrie, who had been desired by the chief to proceed to Hazrat Imam, to visit a sick person there. A week having elapsed, we began to apprehend that some new design was on foot to delay our advance, and resolved to wait no longer, being assured that Mr. Guthrie should be forwarded to us with a suitable escort. I also wrote to that gentleman to explain the necessity of no longer awaiting his return, and directing him what measures to adopt, fully expecting that he would overtake us at Balkh, where we should have to halt for three or four days.

Tash Kurghan is about three miles in circumference, and may comprise about twenty thousand houses. They are built of clay and sun-dried bricks, of one story, with domes in the usual fashion of the country, and each stands by itself in a walled enclosure, often containing fruit-trees. The streets are straight, of a moderate breadth, intersecting each other at right angles, and have commonly a stream of water running through them. A branch of the river of Doaba, increased by many rivulets,

passes through the town, but it is absorbed by the soil soon after it has passed old Khulm. Nothing can be more cheerless than the streets of Tash Kurghan, formed as they are of lines of bare walls, and very little frequented, except on bazar days. It is rare to meet with five or six men in the line of a long street; and if a woman be seen, she is so muffled up that it is impossible to form any notion of her person. The inhabitants are chiefly Tajiks and Kabulis, with a sprinkling of Uzbeks. They are all, rich or poor, dressed much alike, in long gowns of striped cotton ginghams. Bazars are held every Monday and Thursday, when horses, asses, mules, camels, cows, sheep, and goats, are brought to their respective markets. The horses were numerous in the time of Kalich Ali, but are now few: a sheep sells at from two to four rupees; they are of the large-tail variety, and the fat of the tail and along the back is commonly one-third of the weight of the sheep, inclusive of the bones. Cotton cloths, cotton in the pod, tanned leather, raw hides, fuel, grapes, raisins, pistachio nuts, pomegranates, dried plums, fossil salt, brown leather boots with iron-shod heels, dyes, as

the pomegranate bark, madder (indigenous), and indigo, from Hindustan, are exposed for sale, along with blankets of fine wool from Chitral, and raw wool from thence and Badahksha. Printed chintzes, quilts, and turbans are also brought from India. Coarse saddlery is much in request. There is one market entirely for melons, which are raised in this neighbourhood in great quantities.

The shops for dyes and drugs are usually kept by Hindus, who also act, in a small way, as bankers. The vendors of dried fruits are mostly from Kabul. The number of the Kabulis increased considerably even during our detention, in consequence of the disturbances in Afghanistan. The Uzbeks engage little in traffic. The trade with Yarkand is almost monopolised by Atma Ram. He buys up the sheep and furs of Kunduz, which are exchanged at Yarkand for tea, disposed of in Turkistan at an advance of six hundred per cent. The following were the prices of different articles at the time of our visit:—

Mutton, four to five pysa per charah, or two pounds and a half.
Beef, three pysa, do.

Sheeptail fat, eight pysa per charah.
Sheep butter, twenty-four do.
Cow butter, twenty do.
Wheat-flour, seven do. for four do.
Bread, four or five loaves for four pysa.
Oil, sixteen pysa a charah.
Rice, four do. do.
Barley, about one maund and a half for a rupee.

The pysa is the fiftieth part of a Mahmud Shahi rupee.

The workmen in wood, leather, and metal were very indifferent, but demanded high wages, half to three quarters of a rupee per day. Most of them, in fact, had lands, and were, in some degree, independent of labour.

There were four tolerably good serais for travellers. The town was guarded by two forts, one on an eminence on the right bank of the river, to the south-east, the other on the left bank, and on the plain: both are of earth, and of no strength.

The town is surrounded by a wall of earth, with wooden gates, a sufficient protection against sudden incursions of horsemen, but none against artillery. The people of Tash Kurghan had been threatened the year before with a compulsory removal to Kunduz, to which Murad Beg occasionally transplants

whole villages or towns. Last year he had carried thither the population of Sar-bagh and Khulm, and that of Tash Kurghan escaped only by largely bribing his officers. The havock made by the fever of Kunduz would soon depopulate the valley, if it was not thus despotically and cruelly maintained.

Old Khulm is situated about four miles from Tash Kurghan. It was a place of importance in the time of Kalich Ali, but its situation on the plain exposed it to the predatory incursions of the Khattaghans beyond the mountains, whilst, on this side, the Hazaras dammed up or diverted the course of the river, upon which the fertilization of its soil depended. The chief, therefore, removed his capital to Tash Kurghan, much to the regret of the people of Khulm, whose orchards had been celebrated throughout the East for the quantity and quality of their produce.

The consequences which we apprehended from the delay of our departure did not fail to occur, and we were soon made to feel that we were not yet out of the clutches of the Khattaghan robber. The camels were assembled close to our encampment, the packages

were corded, and the Kafila Bashi was distributing them amongst the drivers, when we were astounded by the news that a message had arrived from Kunduz to direct that our baggage should be detained, and that I should be sent back. The message was brought by Torab Beg, the principal Yesawal, with instructions to compel obedience, if necessary, and he was accompanied by a strong party of horse, who were posted round our camp. The Yesawal reported that Mulla Mohammed Amin, the person spoken of as formerly in Mr. Elphinstone's service, as soon as the news of our liberation reached him had hastened to Kunduz, and had thrown his turban at the feet of the chief, pledging himself to prove me to be a person of great importance, engaged as a spy, preparatory to the invasion of Turkistan, which would most certainly fall into the hands of the infidels, unless Murad Beg baffled their designs by putting me and my whole party to death. The chief, on this representation, announced his resolve that, unless I paid two lakhs of rupees, I should pass the summer at Kunduz, calculating, no doubt, upon my

death or destruction, and that of my principal followers, when he would sell the survivors as slaves, and seize upon our property. Convinced that nothing but evil was designed, I declared my unwillingness to go to Kunduz, when it was proposed that Mr. Trebeck should go instead. To this I refused assent, as, if there was the personal danger which we apprehended, it was for me to encounter it. The Yesawal then said, unless one of us consented to accompany him he must use force, rather than afford a pretext for which, I submitted. I declared, however, that I would not depart that evening, as he wished me to do, but would be ready to accompany him early the next morning. He had been all the previous night upon the road, and was not sorry, apparently, to have a reasonable excuse for repose: he, therefore, agreed to allow me to remain over the night, and this, at least, gave us an opportunity of considering what was to be done.

The detachment which had attended the Yesawal, amounting to about two hundred horse, were posted for the night in two divisions, one in our front at about one hundred

paces, the other in our rear rather more distant. My young friend proposed that we should divide our party into two bodies, and fall upon the Uzbeks in the night, disperse them, seize their horses, and make a forced march out of the territory of the Kattaghan chief. The plan was feasible, for, although inferior in number, we were better appointed and disciplined, and our men, holding the Uzbeks very cheap, were quite prepared, and indeed anxious for a trial of strength. I entertained little doubt of our success, but it could only be effected by loss of life on either side, and, although we might escape, the vengeance of Murad Beg would be wreaked upon Mr. Guthrie and his servants. Upon full consideration, and in concert with a native friend, who was attached to our interests, I determined to try a different scheme; to leave my tents privately during the night, and repair to Kasim Jan, Khaja of Talikan, the Pir, or spiritual guide and father-in-law of Murad Beg, and implore his intercession.

In order to elude the vigilance of the Yesawal and his detachment, it was agreed that three of my horses should be led into the

town, as if to be in readiness for the morning's journey, that after nightfall they should be conducted to a burying-ground at some distance, by a couple of trusty persons, who were to act as my guides to Talikan, and that I should endeavour to join them as soon and as secretly as practicable. The horses were sent off. As the evening advanced the guard was reinforced, and horsemen from the town were continually approaching and parading round my tent. No time was to be lost: going forth in my usual attire, and inspecting my sentinels, I returned, and in a few minutes threw an Uzbek silk dress over my own, with an upper woollen mantle commonly worn, put a sheepskin cap upon my head, enfolded at bottom by a lungi or turban, one end of which hung loose, and the other was brought across my mouth and chin, so as to conceal my face and want of beard; and thus equipped, I sallied forth on foot, directing my path towards an unfrequented part of the mountains, concealing my person as much as possible, by descending into ravines and hollows. The moon was young, but rain fell, and the clouds augmented the obscurity of the night. Hav-

ing walked about half a mile, I with some difficulty made out the place where I was to meet my guides, and at last found them at their posts, with one of my own people, and our three horses. We mounted and galloped to the south, until we reached the foot of the mountain, when, skirting the adjacent portion of the town, we followed the foot of the range for some miles, finding our way with difficulty. The path we had taken was little frequented, and as the badness of the night was unfavourable to travelling, we met with no one upon the road. At Yang Arekh we were embarrassed amongst the ruins, but at last cleared them, and passed close to the fort without being observed. Beyond this place the plain, without tree or shrub, was fetlock deep in water, and our horses had great difficulty in making way over the clayey soil. At Bash Abdan we were nearly detected, for my guides having imprudently entered to light a pipe, found there a party of Hindus, the servants of the Dewan Begi. Luckily I remained without awaiting their return. At the pass of Shahbagli some uncertainty prevailed as to our proper road, and my guides, after some

time, found themselves at the bottom of a ravine, where it became necessary to dismount and wait the break of day. However, on the rain diminishing and the atmosphere clearing a little, we resumed confidence, and discovered a path by which we crossed the mountain, just as the day was beginning to dawn. Providential it was that we had not traversed the mountain in the night by the usual road, for in the grey of the morning we discerned, at the eastern foot of the pass, the fires of a party which must have been one of alemans, or banditti, as travellers never halt in such a situation. We continued our advance on the direct road, as if we had not noticed them; but as soon as we had got behind a rising ground, which screened us from view, we turned off to the north, and galloped hard until we thought ourselves out of danger of pursuit. Proceeding on the same line, we came to an abdan, or a path which led to the Oxus, and then returned to the direction of Kunduz. Leaving it a short distance to our left, we rode to the east and south, traversing a large extent of barren plain. After many deviations, which made me apprehend the competency of my

guides, we observed some Uzbeks fording the Ghori river, and followed their direction. The river was about a hundred yards broad, and the current was rapid. We then rode on till it was dark, when we came upon an Uzbek encampment, where it was thought we might venture to stop and give our horses a feed of barley, which we had brought in our saddle-bags. The animals had been without food for twenty-four hours. One of my men, who spoke Turki like an Uzbek, went amongst their tents to purchase some milk and salted tea, whilst I lay down upon a felt, and the other guide who remained with me replied to those who inquired who I was, that I was his fellow traveller, and was very ill with fever. Milk was not procurable, but we obtained a little tea. I was then anxious to depart, but my guides were overcome with fatigue, and I was obliged to consent to their taking about an hour's rest. We then remounted and rode on. The night was dark, and the path was indistinct, and when it wanted about three hours of day my guides declared they could not venture to proceed, as they were uncertain of the road. We were

therefore obliged to halt till towards dawn, when we were joined by another benighted traveller, from whose information it was ascertained that we had lost our way. It was with great difficulty that we recovered it, and the morning had fairly broke, when it was discovered that we had considerably retrograded, and were not above four kos in advance from Kunduz, on a track abounding with water and mud, frequently up to the horses' knees. At eight o'clock we were opposite to Khanahabad, about seven kos from Kunduz. It seemed to be a large town on the right bank of the Furkhån river, with a fort of some extent, but not in good repair. We pushed on as fast as we could, and avoiding the main road, which was somewhat circuitous, forded the river and crossed a rice level. Whilst yet far distant from Talikan, a person was met who reported that Baba Beg was on his way to the same place, at some distance in our rear. We had not proceeded much farther when we had the mortification of descrying Baba Beg with a numerous party, advancing at a round pace and gaining upon us rapidly. We, however, cleared the pass that leads to

the plain of Talikan, and encountered a cavalcade, both of horse and foot, going out to meet the governor of Tash Kurghan, who was accompanied by Khan Jan, the eldest son of Murad Beg. The interchange of civilities, indispensable on such occasions, would, we hoped, delay the approach of our pursuers, if such they were, and give us time to reach the residence of the Pir. Unfortunately, this was at some distance beyond the town, and we thought it expedient to make a circuit across a ridge of mountains, in preference to traversing the town. I was here obliged to change horses with one of my guides, as my own was unable to get beyond a walk, a failure which, considering his steadiness, I ascribed to his being galled by my English saddle.

On clearing the hills we descried from an eminence an orchard within low walls, in which were a number of circular felt and matted tents, and this we were informed by an Uzbek was the residence of the Khaja. In half an hour more, and between three and four in the afternoon, we arrived at the dwelling, when I alighted, and sending in one of my guides with a letter to the Pir Zada from

Mirza Wazir Ahmed, awaited the result. In about half an hour my messenger returned, and said the Khaja would see me. I passed through a low porch formed of mats, and entered a circular chamber, on one side of which, close to the door, the saint was seated. I made the customary salutation, which was returned with courtesy. I then stooped, and taking hold of the skirt of his vest, which lay on the ground, I stated that I had a request to make, apologizing for my imperfect use of the Persian language, and any mistake or impropriety which I might in consequence commit. I stated that I was in some embarrassment as to what I had to state, as it concerned a person with whom he was closely connected. The Khaja desired me to speak freely. I accordingly entered into a full detail of the vexatious detention and extortion to which I had been subjected by Murad Beg, after having been encouraged by him to enter his dominions, and threw myself upon the equity and commiseration of the Khaja.

The Pir Zada listened very attentively to my address, and asked me one or two questions, with the replies to which he appeared to be

satisfied. When I had concluded he assured me of his good offices as far as they might avail me, and that he was willing to hope that he could secure both my property and person from any further aggression. This was a duty, he said, which he owed to a stranger who had thrown himself upon his protection, and had become his guest. It was a duty he owed to God, and from these motives alone he discharged it, not with the view or hope of any remuneration. This he said in allusion to a pair of handsome shawls and two dresses of broad cloth, which I had tendered to him according to the custom of the country. He accepted what was offered, he added, but having done so, it became him to give it back again, that it might not be reported that his interposition was interested. It was in vain that I urged his acceptance: he persisted in declining it, not through any disrespect for me, he assured me, but regard to his own reputation. After I had withdrawn to a chamber assigned for my accommodation, I was visited by Izzet Bai, a respectable merchant of Yarkand, who had been present at my interview with the Pir Zada, and who confirmed my re-

liance upon his protection. Izzet Bai was at Yarkand when Mir Izzet Ullah arrived there from Ladakh, and while he did justice to the abilities and exertions of my agent, he expressed his regret that I had not gone at once there myself, instead of sending an agent before me. The Ak-sikels, literally white wands or elders of the merchants of Badakhshan, Indijan, and Kashmir, were quite disposed to have facilitated my intercourse, but my sending a representative inspired the authorities with doubts, of which the Kashmirian, Nakaju, took advantage. This account agreed with what I had heard from other quarters, and inspired the greatest regret that I had suffered myself to be biassed against my own impression by the opinions of others.

On the following morning Baba Beg paid his respects to the Pirzada, and I was summoned to the audience: the former admitted that I had been in correspondence with his father, but said he had been directed by his superior to remove to Kunduz with my party, to await further information respecting my being a merchant. To this I replied, that

sufficient testimony had been already furnished, and that unless the Pirzada withdrew the protection he had promised, I would not leave his dwelling. After I had withdrawn I was again sent for by Baba Beg, and found him standing without the gate, whilst the Pirzada was within the court. The former said he wished to have some private conversation with me, to which I replied I was ready, but that I would not cross the threshold unless the khaja pledged his word for my safe return. The khaja smiled, and said I might go in safety. The precaution I used was quite necessary; for, agreeably to the Uzbek notions of sanctuary, it would have been no discredit to the Pirzada had I been carried off forcibly, after going forth from his house without his express sanction. When I had accompanied Baba Beg out of the house, he said I had taken the only steps that could have saved us, and advised me on no account to leave my present abode till the business was settled, and a person deputed on the part of the Pirzada to escort us to Tash Kurghan. I really believe that this individual, however

he might have been disposed to despoil us himself, would not be sorry to see us disappoint the avarice of his superior.

On the next day the Pirzada was visited by Khan Jan, and I was again sent for and interrogated, particularly on the very delicate subject of my religion. I evaded all controversy by stating, that as a merchant I pretended to no theological knowledge, that I followed the faith of my fathers, and that in my country every man was allowed full liberty of conscience. Khan Jan desired me to pronounce some of the common Arabic prayers, to which I pleaded ignorance, beyond such a formula as I had read in Persian books, and I repeated the sentence, Bismillah arrahman arrahim, to the great delight of my auditors. I took this opportunity of repeating a declaration I had made in the presence of Baba Beg, that no Uzbek had taken the slightest share in my evasion from Tash Kurghan. Khan Jan repeated the attempt of Baba Beg to decoy me forth under the pretext that he wished me to look at some of his horses. In the evening one of my servants came from Kunduz, to which place all my people and

baggage had been conveyed, with a letter from Mr. Trebeck. He informed me that my evasion, when discovered, had created the greatest consternation amongst the Uzbeks, and both Torab Beg, the Yasawal, and Baba Beg, made up their minds to suffer death from the rage and disappointment of their superiors. My servant was accompanied by Mullah Sangin, whom Mirza Wazir Ahmed had dispatched to my aid, with a letter from himself to the Pirzada, in which he alluded to the efforts made by Mohammed Amin for our destruction. I was thereupon sent for and desired to state what I knew of that person, and I gave that account of him which has been mentioned above. With regard to his apostacy from Mohammedanism, I spoke guardedly, as, although I had the fact from unquestionable authority, it was not one of which I had personal knowledge. I could see, however, that it made a deep impression upon the assembly.

Whilst walking in the outer court on the following day several persons passed me, amongst whom I observed Mullah Mohammed Amin, and a haji of Kunduz, whom

Murad Beg had sent to prejudice the Pirzada against me. My friend, Mullah Sangin, followed them to the audience-chamber, and, after a time, returned with information that they had preferred such accusations against me, and had so strenuously urged the dangerous consequences of admitting my party into Turkistan, as to have evidently alarmed the chief and many of his attendants, who were well disposed towards me. On hearing this I sent the Mullah to request that I also might be admitted to an audience, and permission was obtained. After the usual compliments, I informed the Pirzada that I had heard that persons had come to his house with charges against me, and solicited him to allow me to hear their accusations from their own mouths, questioning them myself as to what they knew against me, but engaging to press no questions which the Pirzada might think improper. The khaja acquiesced, and pointed out my adversary, a man of low stature, in attire somewhat mean and neglected, with a long beard, and a countenance sharp and intelligent, but strongly expressive of malevolence. He said to me, in

Hindustani,—"Speak in Hindustani;" but I took advantage of this to apprize the Pirzada that he wished our conversation to be carried on in a language which few present understood, and appealed to him if this was allowable?—although it was true that I could but imperfectly express myself in that more generally known. He replied, "Speak in Persian, you will be understood." I then asked Mohammed Amin to say who I was? He replied, "A general." "My name?" "Metcalfe." "What was the duty of a general?" —which he explained in a manner that showed him well acquainted with the constitution of the Company's army. I here begged that our dialogue might be taken down in writing, to which the Mullah vehemently objected: the Pirzada ordered it to be done. I then questioned him as to the strength of the Company's army, which he stated to be a lakh and thirty thousand, of which I was the chief commander. The length of time I had been travelling?—he said, "Eight years." I then addressed the Pirzada, and pointed out the errors the Mullah had committed as to my name and

the period of my travels, and submitted the impossibility of an army such as had been described subsisting in a state of discipline during so protracted an absence of its commander; it being well known to all present how entirely the organisation of an armed body of men depended upon the efficiency and activity of its head. It was also absurdly improbable that an individual of the high station and command which he had assigned to me should submit to the degradation and danger which the office of a spy involved. But, besides arguments drawn from these considerations, I could produce undeniable evidence of my mercantile character, not from one or two questionable witnesses, but fifty, respectable merchants of Kabul, headed by the Sheikh ul Islam, or head of the religion, by the chief Mufti, and by the Kazi of the same city, to whom I was well known. Here the Mullah lost his temper, and inveighed against the persons I had referred to, but was checked by a reprimand from the Pirzada. Restraining his vehemence, he said he would prove me to be a spy, or submit to any punishment that might

be imposed. "This man," continued he, "wherever he goes, takes the likenesses of the mountains, rivers, towns, forts, and orchards, and has already painted, n red, and green, and yellow, every object between Sykan and Tash Kurghan." He then asserted that the English government kept up an extensive establishment of spies at every principal city between India and Turkistan, and named several individuals whom he knew to act in that capacity, they being, in fact, the news-writers of the government. These declarations made some impression upon the assembly, but I hastened to dispel them by showing the impossibility of our taking the likenesses he spoke of, as our marches were those usually performed, and we tarried nowhere on the road, unless, as in the present case, compulsorily delayed. I admitted that I made notes of many things that I witnessed in agriculture and the arts, in the hope that the information thus acquired would enable me to benefit my own country or that which I visited, and I appealed to all present if such was not a common practice with travellers in foreign coun-

tries. With regard to the agents employed by the British government I explained their originating in the necessity of counteracting the designs of the King of the French, who had declared his intention of marching to invade British India, which made it incumbent on the government of that country to procure news of his approach. The Pirzada observed this was nothing more than prudent. The Mullah then inveighed against the British power. He declared that I alone had conquered the whole of Tibet, that I had nearly taken possession of Kashmir, and that I should certainly be the means of conquering Turkistan; that Ranjit Sinh only escaped destruction by paying, annually, to us twelve lakhs of rupees, and that the disturbances in Afghanistan were entirely owing to our policy and our gold. I had had the address, he observed, to turn the tables against him, and persuade those present that I was an inoffensive person, but that he should find more reliance placed upon his evidence at Kunduz, where he would repair, and leave nothing undone to effect my destruction. If foiled in

this, he would meet me on every stage between this place and Bokhara, and, if necessary, finally appeal to the king of that city. "If you will not plunder and slay him," exclaimed he at the top of his voice, and with a most satanic expression of countenance, "send him back to his own country. Go back," he called out to me. "Why wast thou not satisfied with Tibet?—why didst thou not go to Yarkand? Go back, and leave this country, at least, in peace." He spoke with so much volubility and violence, that it was some time before I could reply, when I denied his assertions respecting myself, and the interference of my government with any of their neighbours, and expressed my astonishment at the malignity of an individual whom I had never injured, concluding by expressing my entire reliance on the wisdom and compassion of the Pirzada. The intemperance of my accuser, and the answers I had given to his accusations, had secured the judgment of the audience, and the Pirzada, turning to the Mullah, said, "The European has spoken truth—thou falsehood,—

get thee hence." He accordingly slunk away, and soon after mounted his horse for Kunduz. I withdrew to my apartment.

Shortly afterwards the Pirzada came himself to me, and said I must be aware that he was only a Fakir, and that my enemy was a powerful chief, with whom he could but be supposed ill qualified to contend: he, therefore, wished for my advice. I told him that, as the head of the religion in the country, and the spiritual guide of Murad Beg, the latter was his inferior. It was true, he replied, that, if he exercised his authority, the chief must obey, but the exercise of that authority would dissolve the union which had hitherto subsisted between them, and would create him many enemies: he wished, therefore, so to arrange the business as to secure me without incensing the chief: he would see my friend, the Sahebzada, Mir Wazir Ahmed, and discuss with him what plan it would be most prudent to adopt. Accordingly, Wazir Ahmed was sent for, and, after several interviews with the Pirzada, it was thought that a further pecuniary sacrifice might conciliate Murad Beg, and render him

less indignant at our escape. The sum first proposed was six thousand rupees, but the Pirzada reduced it to two thousand, and a messenger was sent to Kunduz to make the offer.

Soon after his departure the appearance of Mohammed Murad Beg himself at Talikan was announced; he arrived late in the afternoon, and encamped about two miles from the town. No communication took place between him and his father-in-law that evening, but it was reported to the latter that he had received the letter of the Pirzada on the road, and expressed the highest dissatisfaction at its purport, and that a durbar was held by him, at which it had been determined that the Pirzada should be compelled to abandon our cause, and that nothing less than two lakhs of rupees should purchase our liberation. The Pirzada was overwhelmed with consternation at the intelligence, and retired to his private apartments. At an unusually early hour in the morning he paid a visit to Murad Beg, which was, after a short interval, returned by the chief. What passed at the first interview I was not exactly apprized, but in the second

the Pirzada warmly advocated my cause. He had heard my accusers, he said, and was satisfied that they uttered calumnies and falsehoods; that I was no spy, but a peaceable merchant, who had come into the country upon the faith of the chief's own seal, and that I was entitled to protection; instead of which I had suffered heavy loss and delay. Now I had sought his assistance, which he had promised, and that he now considered my person and property as his own, which could not be molested without injury to his reputation. Out of consideration for the interests of the chief he had advised me to agree to a further payment of two thousand rupees, and a duty of three rupees on every horse on my return, to which I had acceded, on his pledging himself for my safety; he expected, therefore, if the chief had any respect for him, that he would be satisfied with the conditions and suffer me to depart. After some hesitation, Murad Beg acquiesced, stipulating only that my chests should be opened and examined at Kunduz. He then retired. The Pirzada accompanied him part of the way, and then came to me to tell me what had been determined.

The arrangement was satisfactory in every respect but the last, for the Pirzada, supposing all our goods to be packed in chests, had assented to the examination of all our packages. I represented to him that our bales could not be opened without injury to their contents, and he was much concerned at his mistake. It was then settled that they should not be opened, but a slit made in the envelopes on one side, so as to exhibit their contents; and a messenger was sent off to apprize the Mir of the alteration. Three days afterwards I had the satisfaction to learn that Murad Beg had refused to have the bales cut open, out of respect, as he professed, to the Pirzada.

I had hoped that on payment of the two thousand rupees we should be allowed to proceed, but Murad Beg was going out on a marauding excursion towards Mazar and Balkh, and would allow of no travelling, lest his movements should be made known. It was proposed by a messenger on his part that I should wait his return at Kunduz; but I deemed it more prudent to remain where I was, for which I readily obtained the Pirzada's permission.

CHAPTER V

Notice of Kasim Jan—Translations from Gibbon—Lodging—Food —Prince of Badakhshan—Talikan — Khyrabad — Departure from Talikan—Kunduz—Interview with the Mir—Shah-bagli pass—Fossil Shells—Tash Kurghan—Mazar—Deh dada—Orchards—Greyhounds—Balkh—Ruined Bazar— Storm — Plain of the Oxus—Akberabad—Farakhabad—Khaja Saleh—Oxus —Ferry-boats—Kazak encampment—Optical illusion—Karshi —Visit to the Prince—Departure—Arrival at Bokhara.

KASIM JAN, khaja of Talikan, was a person of about forty, of a fair complexion and pleasing features for an Uzbek. Notwithstanding his saintly character, he was a dealer in merchandise, and especially in slaves, of whom a portion taken in his forays were usually presented to his Pirzada by Murad Beg. I saw a number of Badakhshani boys and girls detained until an opportunity offered of sending them for sale to Yarkand. Their price is from two hundred to five hundred rupees. The amount is brought back in tea, china, satin, and porcelain, which is sold in the neighbour-

ing countries. Besides the profits of trade, the Pirzada derives some advantage from his cattle, as he has one hundred brood mares, and several very large flocks of sheep ; but he is not wealthy, as he is obliged to keep open house for all comers, and accumulation would be incompatible with his religious character. Although not a man of much learning, he was intelligent and curious of information. Whilst under his protection, I attempted to render into Persian, for his use, the chapters of Gibbon which treat of Jangez Khan and Timur, in which the khaja took much interest, and corrected the style of the translation. He was much surprised that a European should have known so much of the history of the Moguls, and admitted that many of the facts were new to him, although he did not doubt their correctness. The subject was frequently spoken of by him to his attendants and visitors.

After my first interview with the Pirzada I was first lodged in a khirgah, or circular tent, the only furniture of which was a few mats, and a clay stand for a lamp ; but as this filled with travellers I was removed to a clay-walled room, with a door, and a small window with

shutters. The roof was supported by beams resting at one end on the walls, and at the other on four pillars of fir, in the centre of the apartment. Within their area was a circular clay fire-place, and over it was a small opening in the roof for the issue of the smoke. At about ten in the morning I was served with salted tea and a cake of wheaten bread, and about one with a dish of boiled rice and pulse, in the middle of which above a pint of kurut, or dried curd, brought into the cousistence of cream, was poured, and over it about two ounces of melted fat from the tail of the Dumba sheep. In the evening tea was again brought me, and about ten o'clock, broth and bread, with mutton or beef, or, upon one or two occasions, with what I suspected to be horse-flesh. I had also sometimes a pilau of plain rice and mutton, dressed with Dumba fat. This fat is admirably suited for the purpose of cooking, and might recommend to epicures in England the introduction of the Dumba sheep. The cookery of the Pirzada household was performed by Badakhshani women.

Amongst the protégées of the Pirzada was Mir Mohammed Reza Beg, the fugitive bro-

ther of the last prince of Badakhshan. On questioning him regarding the descent of his family from Alexander, he stated this was impossible, as they had been settled in the country little more than a century. The Shah of Darwaz he believed to be so descended, and to possess a genealogical record of his lineage: he thought that a copy of the document might be readily obtained; but the passes were blocked up with snow whilst I was at Talikan. Neither the mines of rubies or lapis lazuli were worked; but this was not owing to their unproductiveness, but to the distracted state of the country. Iron is cast at Fyzabad, and pots and pans are supplied to the markets of Hissar and Bokhara. I had before me an iron lamp of flower and open work, which indicated that the metal must have been brought into the most complete fluidity.

Talikan is a town of considerable extent, but of a fluctuating population, as the Uzbeks migrate in the summer to the neighbouring highlands with their flocks, leaving only the Tajik cultivators and traders. The number of mud-houses of one story may amount to about fifteen hundred; but in the winter nu-

merous huts of mats and reeds, and khirgahs of lattice-work and felts, are added to the fixed habitations. There are very near to Talikan several considerable villages, and the whole population of the district must be large. The flocks and herds of sheep, goats, cows, asses, horses, and camels, were exceedingly numerous. The fleece of the sheep is good, and is mixed with a fine wool, nearly approaching in quality to shawl-wool. The fleece of the goat yields also at its roots wool of a similar description. The chief of Kunduz is said to receive annually from this district thirty-five thousand sheep, at the rate of one per cent. The fort of Talikan is a quadrangular building, with conical towers at the angles, and is of no importance. About half way between Talikan and Kunduz is the town of Khyrabad, on the right bank of the Farkham river, with a fort similar to that of Talikan. The situation is said to be healthy, in which it presents a remarkable contrast to Kunduz. The road between these places is much intersected by watercourses, and there is much sedgy land, frequented in the winter season by immense flocks of wild ducks. Ta-

likan may be about forty miles from Kunduz, but from the many detours and deviations made in my journey thither, I must have traversed between it and Khulm at least one hundred and fifty miles.

After a detention of some days we received at last the permission to proceed; but after the arrival of the messenger who brought this intimation, the Pirzada wished me to remain a day, until an auspicious moment for my departure should occur. When it arrived, and I took leave of him, he embraced me; a mark of favour I had never seen him confer upon any one before. He then blessed me, and I took my leave, sincerely grateful to him for an interposition which alone could have preserved us from destruction, and which had been exercised throughout the whole affair in a manner uniformly kind, benevolent, and, though gentle, yet resolute. Izzet Bai brought from him a present of two pieces of green China silk, and one of crimson satin brocade, with flowers of gold, the latter of which he hoped I would wear in remembrance of him. He had persisted in declining any presents of value from me, but I prevailed upon him

to accept some articles of cutlery, razors, and scissors, and a small quantity of genuine atar of roses, and of unadulterated musk. I also shortly before quitting him induced him to accept a telescope and a gold repeater, which had excited the wonder and admiration of himself, and of all his attendants.

I arrived at Kunduz on the same day, and on the following morning prepared to march, but was told that the chief wished to see me. He inquired after my health, and said he had meant to do me no harm, but only wished to ascertain who I was: he asked me what I had got for him, to which I replied by inquiring what he wished, and I found that my chair had taken his fancy. I told him if he would send a man for it it should be his. He then desired me to visit Mirza Abdul Tusah, who was ill, and had been attended by Mr. Guthrie. I met Murad Beg again at his house: some medicines had been prepared for the patient, emetics and purgatives, which were to be left with him, but Murad Beg laid his hands upon them, saying, I will take these, you can have others prepared for the Mirza.

I was seated close to Murad Beg, and scarcely ever beheld a more forbidding countenance. His excessively high-cheek bones gave the appearance to the skin of the face of its being unnaturally stretched, whilst the narrowness of the lower jaw left scarcely room for the teeth, which were standing in all directions: he was extremely near-sighted. He wanted to persuade me to leave Mr. Guthrie behind; but to this of course I would not consent. When we took leave, Abdul Tusah, who is the Mutawali, or manager of the religious establishment at Hazrat Imam, prayed for our welfare, and the hypocritical Beg held up his hands as if joining in the prayer. I then repaired to my party, and we got clear of the town before dark, encamping on the snow.

It is not worth while to record some further delays and extortions to which we were subjected on our march to Tash Kurghan, and which originated, perhaps, rather with the petty rapacity and vindictiveness of Atma Ram, than the more daring dishonesty of his master. We had to pay more than the usual duties levied on merchandise going for sale to

and from Kunduz, although our transport of goods was unconnected with traffic, and was altogether compulsory.

On descending the western face of the Shahbagli pass, having strayed a little from the usual line of road, I observed what appeared to be a bivalve shell, and alighting from my horse, found such numbers as to give rise to a suspicion that I was standing upon an antediluvian oyster bed. They were in general separated and defaced. I had not time to look for perfect specimens, but procured two which were entire. I also picked up some pebbles which looked like cats' eyes, or moon stones, along with agates in lumps, and in flat pieces with opals, also a small fragment of topaz. The face of the rock here forms part of a basin, and fronts to the east. It seems composed in a great measure of fossile shells and siliceous stones.

It was our wish to have passed through Tash Kurghan without stopping, but pecuniary arrangements detained us till nightfall. Anxious to quit a territory where we had suffered so much, we moved out and bivouacked in the snow. At midnight we recommenced

our march, accompanied by many more camels than belonged to us. Had we delayed a few hours, two hundred more would have been sent in reliance on our protection. After travelling about four hours over a plain strongly frozen, we reached the foot of the pass of Mazar.

For some time past I had lost count of the course of time, and am unable to specify the dates of my adventures at Talikan. It was on the 1st of February that we came to the borders of the district of Mazar, crossing over a low ridge of hills by a pass which is frequently the scene of an attack upon caravans. We encountered no robbers. The whole length of the pass may be about a kos: from the western face a view of Mazar opens, and at a greater distance, of buildings, said to be in the vicinity of Balkh. The country on the approach to Mazar was flat, and the soil rich, being watered by a large nala or canal, proceeding from he main trunk, called Band-amir

At about a mile from the town we were met by a party deputed by the chief, Shuja ud Din Khan, to welcome us, and we entered

Mazar under their guidance. The snow had melted, and the water mixing with the loam rendered the streets so plashy, that our horses were sometimes up to their knees in mud Mazar is inclosed by a mud-wall, and seems to be larger than Tash Kurghan. The houses are of clay, of one story, with either domed or flat roofs, surrounded by a court, but less separated by orchards than at Tash Kurghan. It takes its name from a tomb (Mazar), supposed to contain some of the bones of Ali. There is another mausoleum which has been of some importance, but is now in a state of dilapidation. It nevertheless preserves its sanctity, and in its neighbourhood, at a place which is marked by a pole, every mounted passenger is expected to alight and walk reverentially by. We found a house assigned for our accommodation, and the chief sent us a present of two sheep.

On the following morning we waited on the Khan, and were introduced to him in the fort, in a long, low, and narrow apartment which seemed to have been intended for a stable: he was seated with many of his people on felts ranged along the wall, and rose and em-

braced me; he welcomed me to Mazar, and assured me of his friendship. We were then joined by the Wali of Balkh, who evinced much satisfaction at seeing me again, and both he and the Khan inveighed against the conduct of Murad Beg, as bringing shame upon all Turkistan. We then took our leave, but the badness of the weather, and the state of the roads, detained us two days at Mazar. The Khan returned our visit, and displayed the greatest kindness, promising us every assistance in his power, and giving us unsolicited letters of recommendation to the Governor of Balkh, and to the Hakim Bė, or chief minister of Bokhara. The Khan was an uncle of the Wali by the mother's side: he seemed to be about forty-five years of age, and was of middle stature, with plain, unaffected manners, and more like a Tajik than an Uzbek. He is the Mutawali, or person in charge of the Ziarat Gah, or shrine of Ali.

At the request of the Khan I visited a friend of his, who had received a sword wound a year before, and which was not yet healed. He resided at Deh Dadeh, a walled town about six miles west from Mazar: a very large

body of water, the great canal of Mazar, flowed by it, and was seen to come from a gorge in the hills at some distance. The orchards of Deh Dadeh are famous for pomegranates and plums. There are two kinds of the latter; one a large black plum or gage, the other, called Kara Alu, the damson of England. This is preserved in an intermediate state between dry and fresh, so perfectly, that the skin can be readily separated from the pulp: at the time I had an opportunity of tasting it, the beginning of February, it was infinitely preferable to the best French prune. The plums are gathered with their footstalks, and tied with thread to a willow twig so that they do not touch; they are then hung up to dry. Deh Dadeh is also celebrated for its breed of greyhounds, and for brown or Nankin cotton, called there the Mullah's cotton; vestments made of it unbleached being worn almost exclusively by that class of persons, many of whom reside at Mazar.

After clearing the dirty lanes and suburbs of Mazar, we passed upon the left the fort and village of Shirabad, the residence of the brother of the Mutawali, and beyond this Deh

Dadeh. We then passed a break in a ridge of hills to our left, whence issued the main stream of the water of Balkh, or the eighteen canal river, from its feeding formerly that number of watercourses; the greater part had been choked, but some had been recently cleared by order of the Governor of Balkh. One large branch is that which supplies Mazar. A short distance in advance brought us to the ruins of some buildings, said to have been the elephant stables of the kings of Turkistan: similar remains accompanied the road to the wall of the modern town, which we entered by a mean gateway, the folding-doors of which were off their hinges and lying in the mud, no insignificant type of neglect and decay. The same prevailed in the streets, along which we made our way with difficulty over heaps of rubbish and broken bricks, and between long lines of clay walls in a crumbling and ruinous condition. Passing by the face of an unfinished college we entered a narrow bazar, covered in some places by a coarse and imperfect roof of wood, and in others by a half-destroyed roofing of brick; it was about six or seven hundred yards long,

and was almost the only inhabited remains of the once-celebrated capital of Bactria: issuing by the gate at the end of the bazar, we halted close to the walls of an extensive, but seemingly scantily inhabited fort, the residence of the governor, Ishán Khaja.

Some indecision was shown in assigning a place for our stay, and at last we were directed to a mulberry ground, the soil of which was a perfect quagmire. We had scarcely pitched our tents when a strong wind blew, and heavy rain and snow falling, made our position uncomfortable in the extreme. On the day after our arrival the snow prevented our going out, but on the next day we waited on the governor, who received us kindly: he expressed himself highly indignant at the conduct of Murad Beg, and disposed to forward our journey by any means in his power. He was a man of about forty, of a dark complexion, and disfigured by the loss of his nose from disease, a deformity which I observed very common at Talikan, Mazar, and Balkh, in young persons of both sexes. The whole circumference of Balkh, including the Bala Hissar, or fort, may be between four or five

miles, marked by the remains of an irregular and indifferently constructed brick and mud wall; the number of inhabited houses is inconsiderable. There are no relics of antiquity, nor of any buildings of note, except the mausoleum of the Khwaja Parsi, which has been elegantly fronted with enamelled tiles. The population exceeds not a thousand families, with a few Hindus and Jews: the former are shopkeepers, the latter shopkeepers and mechanics. They are subject to the Jezia, a capitation tax on infidels; the Hindus are known by a painted mark on the forehead, the Jews by wearing a black sheep-skin cap: commerce seemed to be at a low ebb, and nothing of material value was exhibited in the bazar.

We left Balkh about noon on the 8th of February, and marching over a continuation of the plain, arrived at day-break at Tule Yek, a village contiguous on the east to another called Karshi Yek, or Little Karshi, containing together about six hundred houses, and defended by two redoubts of clay. These villages are situated on the edge of the desert plain that leads to the Amu, and are famous

for their melons, which are said to be the finest in Turkistan. Broken walls and heaps of rubbish show the neighbourhood to have been at one time thickly inhabited, and in every direction are seen large mounds, which, though now coated with earth, consist probably of architectural remains. The orchards of this place are fertilized by the Balkh river, none of the waters of which reach the Oxus, being wholly absorbed in the process of irrigation.

Akberabad is a walled village of some size, with very extensive ruins. The houses, though of but one story, are capacious, some of them having half a dozen good-sized chambers. They were built of clay and pebbles, or of sun-dried bricks, surmounted by domes. These buildings, with occasional repair, were said to last a very long time, although there is no scarcity of rain or snow.

At a place called Panjal, a village of four or five hundred houses, I was informed that large silver coins, with legends in an unknown character, are sometimes found, and that not long since a number of gold coins, with the figure of a man, were discovered. They had all, however, been consigned to the crucible.

A few kos from Akberabad we came to Farakhabad, a place where there were extensive ruins, but merely of earth or sun-dried bricks. Contiguous to them are the remains of a pleasure-ground, with a square building, called Takhti Khan. The edifice must once have been very elegant, having been constructed of white marble, embellished with enamelled tiles of the colour of the turquoise and lapis lazuli. It consists of one central and several lateral chambers, surmounted by domes, but having a flat platform at their bases. The interior walls of the apartment are lined half way with the coloured bricks, and are painted with white flowers on a blue ground; some of the tiles and the cornices have been inlaid with gold. Two causeways skirting a canal have formerly led to the principal entrances.

Sirdaba, about two kos from Takhti Khan, is a large reservoir, supplied by rain and melted snow. It has been constructed in the centre of a natural basin, formed by the slope of the ground about it. There had been a serai adjoining it, but it was entirely destroyed. Both were the work of Abdullah Khan, who

was the great benefactor of all this part of Turkistan.

Khwaja Salah owes its origin and its name, it is said, to a saint so called, who, being detained on the bank of the river at this place, founded a village. It is usually a place of some population; but whilst we were at Tash Kurghan it was surprised by a party of marauders, who put all the men to the sword, and carried off the women and children as slaves. We found it without inhabitants. The assailants were, it was uniformly reported, Turkmans from Urganj; but it was difficult to suppose they could have been Urganjis, as in that case they must have been fully twenty days upon the road. Mymana is three days' ordinary marching, and travellers state that Urganj is from fifteen to twenty days beyond it, many of which lie across a desert. The ferry of Khwaja Salah had three boats, each capable of containing twenty horses, for the passage of each of which, and for each camel, the charge was one tanga.

The Oxus, at the ferry of Khwaja Salah, appeared to be about as broad as the Thames opposite the Temple gardens; but we found,

upon trial, that a rifle, and even a carbine, carried a ball to the opposite bank: higher up it was much broader, and was divided into two streams by an island, and the breadth of the sandy bed on the right bank, now dry, was about one thousand five hundred paces broad. When full, the river may be about two thousand two hundred paces in breadth. The current was less rapid than I expected to have found it, not exceeding two miles an hour; the depth nowhere exceeded five fathoms. The banks were low, and the soil loose, like those of the Ganges, and the water was similarly discoloured by sand.

This river begins to rise in April, and remains full till July, when it again falls. When at its height it inundates the plain on either side, but especially on the right bank. The extent of its inundation is marked by a belt of sedge and weeds, and then by a thick jangal of dwarf trees and brushwood. Of the former the principal is called Patta, and is of great service to the people, as the boats are constructed of its timber. The Oxus is said to be navigable from Syah to Urganj, the distance between which two points is five hun-

dred kos. No use of it, however, is made for commerce, and the only boats upon it are ferry-boats. These are made of the entire trunks of the Patta-tree, used as planks simply squared and fastened together by clamps of iron. The oars are two crooked pieces of timber, not in the least trimmed, whilst a third serves the purpose of a rudder: these are sufficient in calm weather, and when the current is moderate. At other periods a different mode of crossing is had recourse to.

We arrived at the river on the morning of the 11th, but the wind was too violent to permit our making the passage. After several boats had crossed the wind increased, on which the boatmen adopted the novel plan of employing horses to tow the boats over the river. Two horses were fastened, one behind the other, to each boat, on the side next the current; two locks of the mane were tied together to form a noose, through which a halter was passed and fastened to a stout bight in the bow; a bridle was put into the horse's mouth, and that of the leader was secured to a stout staff held by a man opposite his head: the bridle of the rear horse was held by a man

in the boat, the object being not only to guide the horses, but to keep their heads above water. A second man, attached to each horse, prevented him from being carried under the boat, either with his leg over the side or with a pole. The horses were taken indiscriminately from our train, and although at first somewhat frightened, yet soon overcame their fear, and worked with good will, carrying the boats across in about ten or fifteen minutes. We encamped on the right bank close to the water. On the following day we passed through an owal, or station of Khirgahs and Kappahs, or circular huts of mats and reeds, with a conical top. Horses stood saddled at the doors of the tents, and mares and foals, and many camels, were grazing in the adjoining jangal. The cows were stabled in holes made in the ground, roofed with branches of trees and grass, and covered with sand and bushes. The dogs were of middle size, of a foxy colour, but strong and courageous. There were also many good-looking greyhounds. The people were Kazaks. We met here some Turkman women, some riding on camels, some on horseback behind men; they had

turbans on their heads, with a yellow silk veil, which some of them dropped over their faces, whilst others indulged their curiosity freely. The faces we saw were broad and plump, of the true Uzbek character.

On this day's march I was the subject of an optical illusion of a very striking description. At about two hours after daylight I had ridden away from the caravan to examine some ruins to the north, and was contemplating the hills beyond Khilef, when my attention was suddenly arrested by a large isolated building on the plain to the north-west, apparently about four or five miles distant. The morning was frosty but clear. I was in perfect health and self-possession, and looked repeatedly at the edifice, which, though low, appeared to be extensive. As I galloped towards it to take a nearer view, it became more distinct, and shone in the sun, the rays of which now fell upon it as if it were of marble. Although I held on my route, my attention was for a moment diverted by beholding my friend Trebeck gaining upon a flock of bustards and driving them across my track, and .. again turning my eyes towards the sup-

posed palace, it had vanished. I saw merely the range of rocks on which stands the fort of Khilef. I was the only one of the party whose eyes had thus been deceived.

On this and the two following marches the road continued across a desert plain, in which not a tree was discernible, and where, in summer, water is scarce, and of brackish quality. At the time we traversed the plain heavy rain and snow fell, and the soil was everywhere soft and miry, occasioning great distress to our cattle, as well as discomfort to ourselves. We arrived at Karshi on the 16th.

Karshi is a town that is considered second in importance only to Bokhara. It is situated in an oasis, in the midst of the arid tract that separates that city from the Oxus, and which owes its fertility to the waters of a river from the mountains to the eastward of Shahr Sabz, a place three marches distant, usually subject to Bokhara, but at present in a state of revolt. Karshi did not appear, however, to be of great extent. The houses were generally of mud, and flat-roofed, standing in the midst of orchards, except in the

case of the shops in the bazar. The population is fluctuating, as the nomadic tribes come in with their families during winter, and go out again in summer. The resident population, consisting in the largest proportion of Tajiks, amounts to about twenty thousand families: in the winter the number may be doubled, when the Uzbeks predominate. The plain around Karshi is irrigated by cuts from the river, the water of which is expended a little further to the westward. Besides the orchards, which are numerous and highly productive, wheat and barley are cultivated, and the bread made from the former is remarkably light and well tasted. The following were the prices of various articles of provision at the time of our arrival, converted into English denominations. Barley about twelve pounds for sixpence. Broken straw from eightpence to one shilling for a horse-load. Fuel was scarce and dear; a camel load of the plant resembling broom, gathered green, and emitting more smoke than heat, and packed so loosely that the load could be easily carried by a horse, was about a rupee. Ghee, or clarified butter.

three pounds for a rupee. Sheeptail butter, five pounds for the same. Wheat flour, a penny a pound. Rice, eight pounds for eighteenpence. Grape syrup, which is used throughout these countries as a substitute for sugar, threepence a pound. Mutton, about fourpence a pound; but it was the least good of any we had eaten since leaving Hindustan. A cake of wheaten bread, two of which were a good meal for a man, cost about a pyce of Hindustan, or less than a halfpenny. Unseasonable cold had damaged the blossoms of the apricots, and the fruit was unusually dear.

It had been intimated to us that on the third day after our arrival we were expected to wait upon the Prince, Tora Bahadar, who was the governor of Karshi, a lad of about sixteen, the son of the king by a bondmaid, and, accordingly, on the 19th, at an early hour, we were summoned to an audience, and desired to bring our soldiers with their arms. As we passed along the streets we found them knee-deep in mud, under which the surface, which it concealed, was broken into ruts and holes which rendered it danger-

ous to proceed. I had seen bad roads in other countries, and particularly the cross roads of some parts of Normandy in a wet winter, but they were absolutely good in comparison with the streets of the second city of the kingdom of Bokhara. We managed, however, to make way without any serious mishap, until we were desired to stop in an open area, fronted by three large brick and mortar colleges of two stories, of which the iron latticed windows gave them the aspect of prisons rather than of seminaries of learning. We halted here for about a quarter of an hour, during which several Uzbeks, whose clothing bespoke them of a respectable class of the community, passed us, as if on their way to the court. From hence we proceeded to a gate-house, where we were desired to dismount. Within the gateway was a raised apartment on either hand, open to the front, in which a number of persons were seated. On entering an interior road, walled on each side, with a seat of earth the whole length, we saw other persons, of whom the principal was a fair, stout, short, good-humoured looking personage, in a dress of

China gold-flowered brocade; this was the master of the ceremonies. He was attended by his deputy, who was dressed in a coat of purple broad cloth, and held a painted and gilded stick. After instructing us in the manner of paying our respects, which consists in crossing the arms upon the breast, and bowing the head, these officers conducted us to a large court, opposite to the gateway of which was a line of men with white wands. When arrived at the middle of the area, the sides of which were lined by well-dressed persons, we saw the Prince sitting on the floor, in the opening of a small door opposite. After making our obeisance, we were desired to sit, or rather kneel, and then, in imitation of the master of the ceremonies, raised our hands, open, with the palms inwards, to a level with our faces, whilst our prompter recited the usual prayer. At the conclusion we stroked our beards, rose, sat down again, repeated our salutation, and once more stood up, when we were told we might depart.

The Prince was a ruddy, well-looking youth, whose face was in a constant smile

whilst we were in his presence, which scarcely exceeded three minutes. The master of the ceremonies attended us to the court-door, when his deputy conducted us to seats in the passage, and we stopped about ten minutes longer, during which many of those who had had an audience came forth. It was then signified that the ceremonial was over, and that we might depart on the morrow. The manner in which we had been received was, according to Uzbek etiquette, highly respectful, and augured well for our reception at Bokhara. The conduct of the people was also very civil, and although their curiosity was somewhat troublesome, it was never rude. They pressed upon us in great numbers both in the streets and at our tents, but when they crowded too much about us the Yasawal rushed amongst them, and with a long and thick stick distributed blows at random, which speedily cleared the ground. The more respectable who were allowed to approach repeatedly said that we were objects of great interest to them, as they had never seen any of our countrymen. The questions they asked us were very much alike, and were not very

sapient. It was a remark which frequently occurred to us, on our journey in Turkistan, that a singularly uniform mediocrity of intellect prevailed amongst even the best informed of the Uzbek population. It was rare indeed to find an individual shrewd or sagacious beyond his fellows.

We left Karshi on the 21st of February, and resumed our journey to Bokhara. The country we traversed resembled that we had passed between Karshi and the Oxus: after quitting the confines of the strip of cultivated ground on which that city stands, we again came to a sandy and steril tract, less undulating than that nearer the river, but equally unproductive. It was with no slender satisfaction that on the morning of the 25th of February, 1825, we found ourselves at the end of our protracted pilgrimage, at the gates of that city which had for five years been the object of our wanderings, privations, and perils.

THE END.